Girls are people who at least know something:

Hearing Young Women's Voices and HIV/AIDS

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Abstract

High rates of HIV/AIDS in young women in Sub-Saharan Africa are a serious health problem. As a result, young women are an important target for HIV prevention. For young women a pre-requisite for preventing HIV/AIDS is having a voice in sexual relations. Yet many face significant barriers to speaking amongst other limitations to agency.

This study arose out of concerns for the vulnerability and voicelessness of young women of Busoga, Eastern Uganda, in relation to HIV/AIDS. The research asks: How can young women, who experience multiple vulnerabilities in their lives, have a voice and what might the implications be for HIV prevention?

Method was a critical element here, given the focus on young women speaking within voiceless norms. I developed a narrative methodology, expanding on existing critical inquiry and experiences of collaborating with young people, as a safe space for young women to speak about their lives, including experiences of oppression and resistance.

The study was undertaken in Busoga, with a group of young women aged 15-19 years, using drawing, stories and drama. Young women portrayed the considerable barriers to their voices because of constraining social structures and norms, and a challenging environment of poverty and educational limitations.

Young women's representations were analyzed using a critical framework of current HIV prevention paradigms. This concluded that these do little to address, and have instead contributed to the limitations faced by vulnerable young women.

A substantive contribution of the study is to knowledge about the considerable social, gendered and institutional barriers to young women's voices and agency in the Busoga context. The contribution to HIV prevention is in adding to the call for alternative approaches, underpinned by empowerment

paradigms, which build young women's voices within wider actions to create receptive social environments, as a means of addressing limits to their agency.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study and Rationale

The HIV/AIDS pandemic, now into its third decade globally, has had and continues to have a significant and negative effect on the lives of many young women; of the 4 million young people age 15-24 years living with HIV or AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa about two-thirds are young women (2010:3). The issue of multiple vulnerabilities and high rates of HIV/AIDs infection in young women in Sub-Saharan Africa provides the broad research problem and background for this study. There are a number of well-documented reasons for young women's vulnerability in relation to HIV/AIDS, and many of these relate to living in an environment of poverty, although this does not provide exclusive grounds for their vulnerability (Radhika 2003; Mabala 2006; WHO 2006; Kalipeni, Oppong et al. 2007; Bruce and Hallman 2008).

Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a disease which affects the human immune system caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). HIV is transmitted through direct contact of a mucous membrane or the bloodstream with a bodily fluid containing HIV, such as blood, semen, vaginal fluid, and breast milk (Weiss 1993; Mayer and Pizer 2009). Biological vulnerability is a particular factor for young women in relation to sexual transmission. A woman's large surface area of reproductive tissue is exposed to her partner's secretions during intercourse. Semen infected with HIV typically contains a higher concentration of the virus than a woman's sexual secretions. Also, young women are especially at risk because their reproductive organs are immature and more likely to tear during intercourse. Women also face a high risk of acquiring other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), which increases the risk of HIV infection if left untreated (Piot and Bartos 2002; Radhika 2003).

Young women in poor communities and households are at a particular disadvantage in relation to social and economic vulnerabilities, suffering disproportionately from the negative effects of poverty and gender inequality

in relation to HIV/AIDS (Mabala 2006; Bruce and Hallman 2008; Gabrysch, Edwards et al. 2008; Boesten and Poku 2009). Not only is poverty a factor in vulnerability at the family and community level, but also in relation to poor states. Young women experience inequalities within poor infrastructures and systems, such as in health and education (IPPF 2006).

More specifically in relation to sexual health vulnerabilities: a legacy of historical and cultural norms in communities has perpetuated male power and female subservience, as well as gender roles and norms that place young women at a disadvantage in relation to HIV/AIDS (Baylis 2000; Susser and Stein 2000; Boesten and Poku 2009). There may exist common practices of sexual coercion and violence, stigma and taboo, both in the home and at school (Wood and Maforah 1998; Neema, Moore et al. 2007). Also, practices of early marriage or union with older male partners put young women at risk from HIV positive older men (Glynn, Carael et al. 2001; Chatterji, Murray et al. 2005; Clark, Bruce et al. 2006; Cleland, Ali et al. 2006; Neema, Moore et al. 2007; Leclerc-Madlala 2008). The interconnections of poverty, with the disease, and the social and cultural environment contribute to the situation of multiple vulnerabilities faced by young women.

An aspect of young women's vulnerability in the study area is reduced ability to speak and be heard in sexual relations, and lack of choice and agency in negotiating their sexual lives (ICW 2004). Preventing HIV/AIDS, as a disease of sexual relations, requires reducing the likelihood of infection through sex (WHO 2006). For young women 'safer sex' requires that they have a voice or agency in sexual relations. They need to be able to say no to sex, to negotiate for protected sex, and to make choices that will lead to safe sexual practice. HIV prevention therefore must address young women having a say in their sexual lives (WHO 2006; UNICEF 2008). Given that sexual lives are embedded in lives more generally, there is also a need to consider wider issues of agency or say in life choices, with strategic life choices of special importance (Kabeer 2005; IPPF 2007). Furthermore, as sex is relational, and socially and culturally embedded, having a say relates to others' responses and actions; such as those of men, families and communities. Therefore HIV

prevention also concerns the people, relationships and wider social and empowerment processes in young women's lives (Clark, Bruce et al. 2006; Bruce and Hallman 2008; Gabrysch, Edwards et al. 2008; Boesten and Poku 2009).

As a result of the vulnerability of young women to HIV/AIDS they are an important target group for HIV prevention efforts (UNICEF 2004; UNICEF 2008). HIV prevention in the region in relation to young people has tended to be schools-based and measures are mostly based on 'behaviour change communication' (BCC) strategies, which target individual risk avoidance through increasing young people's knowledge of the disease (Halperin and Steiner 2004; Mabala 2006; WHO 2006; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009).

The rationale for this approach is that improved knowledge will lead to sex-related behaviour change. In addition, in the last decade 'life skills' education has in some places supported behaviour change communications, although this is described as a poorly defined concept with a limited role so far (Boler and Aggleton 2005). Behaviour change strategies are considered to have had a significant impact on reducing young people's risk of HIV/AIDS leading to major gains in the form of reduced prevalence in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2010). However, a trend in prevention is to go further than this taking into consideration the wider social, cultural, economic and gendered environment to address the problem with special attention to the needs of the most vulnerable such as young women (IPPF 2007; Kalipeni, Oppong et al. 2007).

1.2 Conceptualizing Young Women's Voices

A conceptualizing of vulnerable 'young women's voices' fits with a broadly critical epistemology and a central concern for a state of powerlessness and voicelessness, often described as being marginalized (Crotty 1998; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Mahoney 2009). Marginalized or vulnerable young women have limited say in their life choices and needs, and there is a lack of concern for their knowledge and views (Spivak 1988; Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995). Whereas having a voice means being able to speak about and shape personal choices and needs. The challenge for an action-oriented agenda, as is the case here in relation to HIV prevention, is how to counter or 'shift' young women's state of marginalization or vulnerability, and the place of their 'voices' in that process (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995).

The term 'voices' is used extensively in the development setting, although it frequently concerns an 'eliciting' of marginalized voices. This means that knowledge and views are sought usually in response to expert questions, and this does not necessarily indicate a role in decision making. This differs from the concept of voices 'influencing' decisions and outcomes, which affect their lives (Cornwall 2003). Often there is reference to the voices of the poor (Narayan, Patel et al. 2000; Cornwall 2003), voices of women in the context of poverty and gender inequality (Batliwala 1994; Chant 2007), and, more recently the voices of young people in development processes has moved up the agenda (UN Commission on the Rights of the Child 1989; White 2002; Holt and Holloway 2006).

Addressing the challenge of hearing the voices of marginalized women in development has often entailed the concepts 'empowerment' and 'participation' (Cornwall 2003; Kabeer 2005). 'Empowerment' is considered both as a process for shifting from a position of being marginalized and an end result of gaining power or agency in life choices (Kabeer 1999). 'Participation' is considered a key mechanism for an empowerment process used by programmes and institutions in development. The concept typically involves collaborative activities and 'transformation' of both the marginalized and powerful others in the participatory process (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995).

However, there are influential concerns that cooperative notions of empowerment and participation are not effective as a means of challenging and changing dominance, and that 'resistance' to power is necessary to bring about change (Cooke and Kothari 2001). The over-riding issue here in relation to empowerment and participation is that the voices of marginalized young women are a vital part of such processes. Also, that ideas of eliciting voices for the purpose of adding to knowledge, and for the purpose of shaping change are both of importance (Cornwall 2003).

In considering the case of young women's voices in the Sub-Saharan African context various sources have contributed to this study. In feminist studies, there is a concern for listening to women's voices and witnessing women's experiences, including women's multiple stories and histories as a means to counter masculinist voices and power (hooks 1990; McCarthy and Edwards 1998; Standing 1998; Harding 2004; Kitzinger 2007). In gender empowerment movements, building on feminist and social activist ideas, women's voices are part of action for change in women's lives, countering gender inequality (Batliwala 1994; Kabeer 1999). In post-colonialism African women are deemed as being silenced within the global order; an order which must change if their voices are to be heard (Spivak 1988; Oyewumi 1997; McLeod 2000; Steady 2003; McEwan 2009). International girlhood scholars are concerned with young women's voice as central to their developing experiences, and young women exercising their power within societies which limit their voices (Gilligan 1982; Brown and Gilligan 1992; Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995; Harris 2004; Aapola, Gonick et al. 2005). Finally, youth scholars are concerned with young people's rights and voices in development processes (White 2002; Holt and Holloway 2006; Lundy 2007).

Young women's voices in relation to HIV prevention are a particular concern here. Current prevention programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa are still very much focused on behaviour change and the disease-specific challenge of HIV/AIDS; rather than wider changes likely to improve the lived situation of vulnerable young women including that relating to their sexual health (Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). There are alternative models which may offer more

potential for empowering and participatory approaches, such as that of 'positive sexuality' or 'healthy sexual development' (World Health Organization 2004; Diamond 2006), with a wider concern for young women's sexual development within 'health-enabling environments' (Campbell and Aggleton 1999), rather than a narrow focus on disease. These underpin strategies aimed at providing greater opportunities for addressing young women's vulnerability, including strategies for transforming gender and other negative power relations (ICW 2004; IPPF 2007). However, these are much contested ideas in relation to promoting young people's sexual health given societal fears of 'risky' youth behaviours (Ingham and Aggleton 2006).

Contemporary notions of participation (Kesby 2005; Cahill 2007; Kindon, Pain et al. 2007) are a promising means for young women having a voice in HIV prevention efforts. Contemporary ideas about participation acknowledge that it is a kind of power, which is inevitable, partial and situated. Yet, considering that there is still scope for beneficial collaboration, involving young people, if processes are less dominate, more reflexive and de-stabilize more dominant means and practices (Kesby 2005; Mannion 2010). Participation, it is argued, can offer flexible ways of working, oriented to what suits participants, enabling participants' voices through transformative development and transactions (Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010). As well as issues of voice, the 'space' in which participation takes place is considered vitally important; as is a concern for issues of 'listening' and 'influencing' in participatory practice (Thomas 2001; Lundy 2007; Kafewo 2008; Mannion 2010). However, building young women's voices through participation alone is unlikely to have much effect without improvements in social contexts and these must be addressed as a priority (Campbell and Cornish 2010).

I set out in this research with a concern that many young women do not have a voice in their lives, and this adds to their vulnerability in relation to HIV/AIDS. Yet, I am hopeful for the possibilities for vulnerable young women to have greater agency, choice and voice in their lives, including in HIV prevention. I wanted to understand what this might mean for societal change and how it might relate to young women as active agents in HIV prevention.

1.3 Aim and Scope

The aim of this study is to explore young women's voices, considering the possibilities for young women who experience multiple vulnerabilities to speak and be listened to, and relating the findings to HIV prevention. The study asks: How can young women, who experience multiple vulnerabilities in their lives, have a voice and what might the implications be for HIV prevention?

The study was guided by the following sub-questions:

1. What can we learn about the lives and voices of young women of Busoga and how does this contribute to the literature on a) young women's intimate lives and HIV prevention in Uganda; and b) qualitative research, specifically narrative methodologies, for exploring young women's voices?

2. Can narrative methods serve as tools for young women speaking about their lives and do they offer a means for them to talk about their experiences of oppression and resistance? What are the factors that hinder or facilitate use of narrative methods in relation to this study of young women's voices?

3. What do young women say about their lives? What can be learned about current HIV prevention from listening to what young women say? What are the ways forward for HIV prevention in light of what young women say?

The broad field of study is that of young women living in a context of poverty and HIV/AIDS. The geographical context is Sub-Saharan Africa, with a particular focus on the study country which is Uganda. The specific location is the Busoga[1] region in Eastern Uganda where young women experience high rates of HIV/AIDS (Ministry of Health Uganda and ORC Macro 2005).

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[1] 'Busoga' refers to place and 'Basoga' to the people or society; see chapter two for more on the context of the empirical study.

The thesis contributes to literature on young women of Busoga's sexuality, qualitative research on young women's intimate lives in Uganda, and narrative methodologies, It is anticipated that the contribution to literature will benefit HIV prevention paradigms and programmes in relation to the needs of young women in Uganda and similar settings.

The research project was conducted in partnership with a Non-governmental organization (NGO) Straight Talk Foundation (STF) Uganda, with the fieldwork taking place in 2006 and 2007. NGOs are of key importance as providers in health in Uganda, including in HIV prevention. STF is a health communication NGO working with young people, 10-19 years old, and communities to promote safe sex in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (www.straight-talk.org.ug). STF projects use radio, written medium, and face-to-face strategies to help young people, parents and communities to re-script their lives for the purposes of improved sexual health and promoting safer sex (Straight Talk Foundation Uganda 2005).

STF's experience of working with young people is that, in some Ugandan cultures and locations, young men demonstrate confidence and are vocal, yet young women remain silent and have little visibility; leading to low participation of young women in STF projects. One such location where this has been identified as a problem is Busoga region, which, alongside concern for young women's HIV/AIDS related vulnerability, is the reason that this area was selected for the study. Lack of participation by young women not only reflects their lack of voice and agency in their lives, but also limits their involvement in important inter-gender collaboration and there is poor understanding of their perspectives. Trends in prevention in Uganda show a move towards differentiating strategies, with greater emphasis on gendered approaches, and this adds to the rationale for studying issues of young women's voices (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007).

The empirical study involved working with a small group of young women aged 15-19 years in a semi-rural community in Busoga region, Eastern Uganda. The choice of age group was based on those considered at high risk, and as a target group for STF (Straight Talk Foundation Uganda 2005).

1.4 Overview of the Study

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. Chapter one provides the general introduction, conceptualizing young women's voices and voicelessness and introducing the research questions. Chapter two is a review of what is known about the lives of young women of Busoga and related risk of HIV/AIDS and current prevention. Chapter three is a discussion within a broadly critical agenda, exploring barriers to young women's voices and the possibilities for greater agency and participation in relation to HIV prevention. Chapter four presents a detailed research design including development of an appropriate methodology aimed at exploring young women's voices, a critical framework of current HIV prevention as well as details of the study group and fieldwork. Finally, there is a reflection on the study on the methodological contribution of the thesis. Chapter five is the substantive data chapter presenting the main themes, followed by further data chapters six and seven. The concluding chapter eight, summarizes the study findings, and considers the findings in relation to the critical framework of current HIV prevention, with preliminary recommendations for practice.

CHAPTER TWO
YOUNG WOMEN OF BUSOGA AND HIV/AIDS: A REVIEW

2.1 Introducing the Review

Chapter two is a review of what is known about the lives of young women of Busoga, related risk of HIV/AIDS and current prevention. In section 2.2 is a discussion about young women and HIV/AIDS prevalence and risk. This is followed in 2.3 by a discussion drawing on knowledge about Basoga history, culture, and gender, as well as recent developments in female education. Finally in 2.4 is a brief discussion about responses to HIV/AIDS in Uganda in relation to young women of Busoga.

The Busoga region is situated in Southern Uganda (a landlocked country in eastern Sub-Saharan Africa) lying east of Kampala the capital city, and partly bordering on Lake Victoria (See Figure 1). Uganda has 56 districts; the three districts comprising Busoga are Iganga, Jinja and Kamuli. The population of Uganda is estimated at over 25 million (based on the 2002 Uganda population census); with the ethnic group Basoga comprising about 2 million, or 8% of the population. The Basoga are the nation's fourth largest ethnic group. Approximately three-quarters of the population of the Busoga region are members of Basoga Society (1.4 million) and Lusoga is the main language spoken in the region.

The research took place in Jinja district; specifically in Budondo, a semi rural sub-county some 30 minutes journey from Jinja city along a murram road. With an estimated population of 500,000 people, the district is home to Jinja, the second largest city in Uganda, and it has the most urbanized population in Busoga. The primary economic activity in Jinja is manufacturing and trade (such as, power generation, the sugar industry, and breweries). Local industries have been rebuilt since their collapse in the 1970s and 80s following on from political and economic instability. The rural parts of the district are agricultural, growing crops such as, beans, maize, bananas, and rice, amongst others (Government of Uganda 2010). Jinja district has a moderately ethnically diverse population with 65% Basoga.

Although Uganda has experienced stability for some time now, and solid economic growth of 6-7%, it is still a very poor country experiencing very low per capita GDP of about US$300 (Uganda AIDS Commission 2008). In the rural areas poverty is caused by lack of reliable sources of income for the majority peasant farmer population. Reasons for poverty in Jinja district are described in a recent Uganda government report as including: lack of social networks, exploitation, lack of consistent earning, lack of property rights, vicious deprivation, illiteracy, lack of land, high cost of living, as well as lack of markets. The same report describes women as 'highly marginalized in Jinja district' with micro finance, trading and farming still managed by men who control resources (Ssekiboobo and Nsubuga 2003:x)
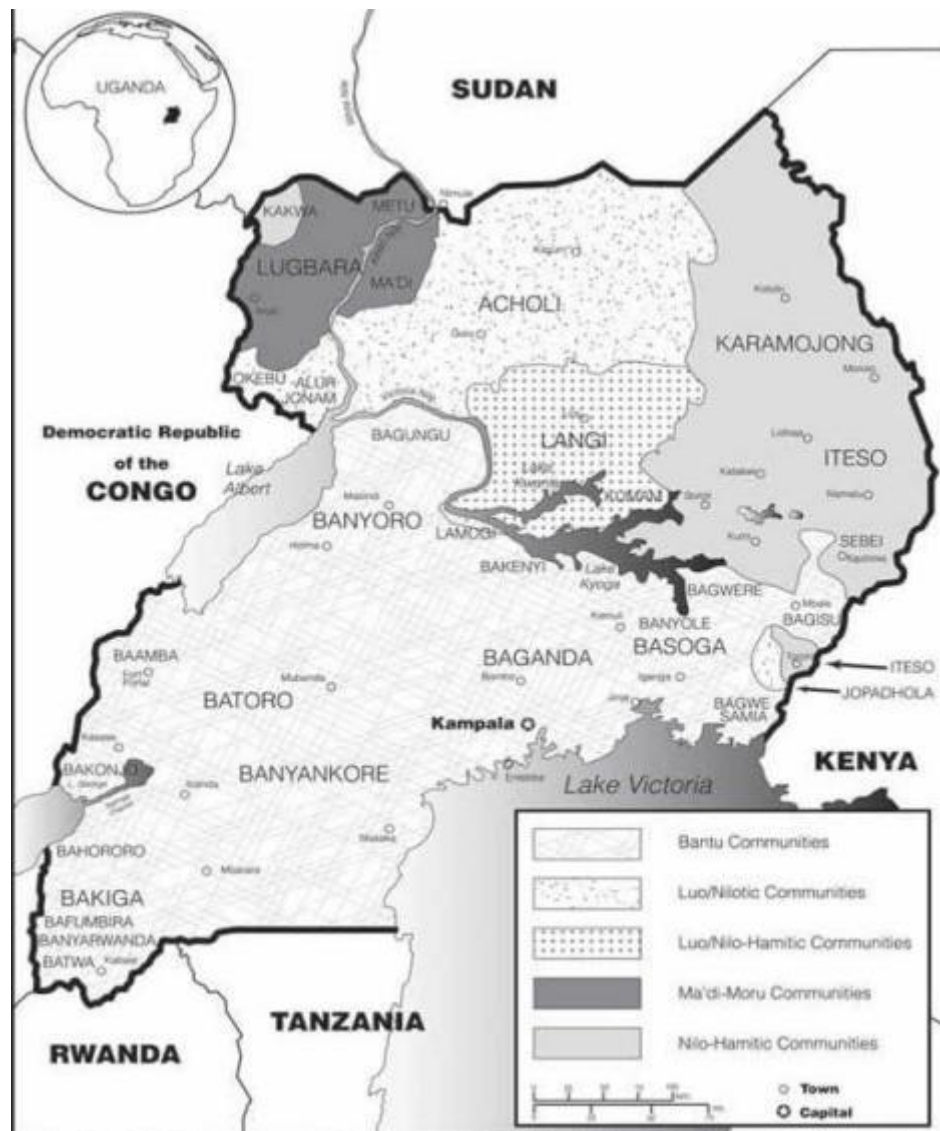
Figure 1: Map of Uganda showing the location of Basoga Society (Minority Rights Group International, 2010)

2.2 Young Women of Busoga and HIV/AIDS Prevalence and Risk

At the age of 12 years it is very unlikely that a girl in a Basoga community will be infected with HIV/AIDS. Yet, by the age of 18 years about 3% of young women in the same community will be HIV positive (Mabala 2006; UBOS and ORC Macro 2006; UMOH and ORC Macro 2006). An infected young woman will probably experience illness and early death; HIV/AIDS being the major cause of death in young women under 24 years (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). In addition to the physical effects of the disease, she will experience fear, stigma, and shame for herself and her family. She will have enough knowledge about the disease to fear what could happen, but not necessarily be in a position to protect herself against infection. Both the fear of HIV/AIDS and the reality of it are ever-present in her daily life. It relates not only to her sexual health, but to all aspects of her life through sexuality, education, home and family, community and her emotional life and future prospects.

In 2004, a nationally representative, population-based Sero-Behavioural Survey (USBS) (UBOS and ORC Macro 2006) was conducted which, with the 2006 Demographic Health Survey (DHS) (UMOH and ORC Macro 2006) and the National Survey of Adolescent and Sexual Reproductive Health[2] (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006), forms the basis of much of what is known about young people in Uganda and HIV/AIDS prevalence (providing an estimate of how common HIV/AIDS is within the Ugandan population at the time of the study). Previously national HIV/AIDS prevalence estimates had been based mainly on sentinel surveillance among pregnant women, but these have well-documented limitations (Allen 2006; UBOS and ORC Macro 2006). The 2004 survey, in which 18,000 Ugandans in the age range 15-49 years were randomly selected and tested for HIV/AIDS, is considered to provide a better picture of the magnitude and pattern of the infection in the general reproductive-age population in Uganda (UBOS and ORC Macro 2006:98).

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[2] The report is based on data from a nationally representative survey carried out in 2004 of approximately 5000 males and females aged 12-19 years (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). Because it is a national study it is not clear to what extent the findings vary by region or by ethnic group.

These linked studies, with their combination of testing for HIV/AIDS and large-scale surveys, as well as some smaller studies, form the basis of epidemiological reporting and knowledge about HIV/AIDS in Uganda since 2004. As such they play a significant role in prevention policy and plans now and for the future (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007).

The discussion here focuses on what is known from epidemiological reporting of prevalence and risks faced by young women of Busoga. It also considers what an epidemiological focus neglects to show, a particularly important issue given the priority accorded to this source of information. The Uganda studies referred to above (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; UBOS and ORC Macro 2006; UMOH and ORC Macro 2006) show that prevalence and risk is associated with a complex combination of age and sex, location and ethnicity, the wealth-poverty nexus, education, sexual behaviours and knowledge and other 'socio-demographic characteristics'. Significantly they also show that there is great variation in experiences of HIV/AIDS across Uganda; a variation which is reflected across the wider geographical zone of Sub-Saharan Africa, reinforcing the message that there is a need for a varied and contextualized response to HIV/AIDS.

The major and stark message emerging from the studies is that being female is a major risk factor for HIV/AIDS in Uganda (UBOS and ORC Macro 2006). There is a significant difference in prevalence between men and women across age groups; 8% for women and 5% for men. Thus, being female is clearly a disadvantage for young women of Busoga, not only from the point of view of gendered roles (discussed later in 2.3) but also in relation to risk of HIV/AIDS.

The studies also show that not only are young women of Busoga disadvantaged by being female, but they are further disadvantaged by being young. This is even more significant for young women and men. Young men who are 15-19 years experience a prevalence rate of 0.3% nationally, much lower than national prevalence for young women, in the age group 15-19 years, which is 2.6% (UBOS and ORC Macro 2006). Uganda has a young

population with 24% between the ages of 10-19 years (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006).

There is a significant difference between the risk faced by young women and older women; from the age of 15 years (which is the first age tested) until 35 years women have higher prevalence rates (UMOH and ORC Macro 2006). Only after the age of 35 years do the prevalence rates of men and women become similar. This reflects a regional trend (Bruce and Hallman 2008).

Young Basoga women's lives are not only affected by HIV/AIDS in terms of sex and age but also where they live and their ethnicity are shown to be of importance (UMOH and ORC Macro 2006). For the purposes of this study, Busoga is located approximately in the area described as 'East Central', one of nine regions (see Figure 2). However, this area is not co-terminus with ethnic location (See Figure 1). The study area in Jinja district falls within East Central.

Living in an urban location is an important risk factor, with considerable variation in prevalence between the regions in the less densely populated North and more densely populated South of Uganda, and by rural or urban community. Urban young women (15-24 years) are significantly more at risk than rural young women, experiencing rates of 6.9% compared to 3.8%; and certainly more so than for urban young men (15-24 years) who experience rates of 1.8% against 0.9% for rural young men. Living in East Central places young women fourth out of the 9 regions in terms of prevalence for young people (5% for young women who are 15-24 years, 0.8% for young men). This matches the national average with Kampala having the highest prevalence rate of 6.3% (as the most urbanized) and West Nile (which is sparsely populated) the lowest rate of 1.3%.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that prevalence for women of Busoga who are 15-19 years will be similar to the national prevalence rate of 2.6%. East Central ranks fifth in young male prevalence with North Central Region highest at 1.9% and Northeast Region lowest at 0.4%, so it would be

reasonable to assume that the prevalence rate for young men of Busoga who are 15-19 years will be at the national rate of 0.3%.

Figure 2: Map of Uganda, Uganda Demographic Health Survey (UDHS) 2006 (Source UBOS and ORC Macro 2006)
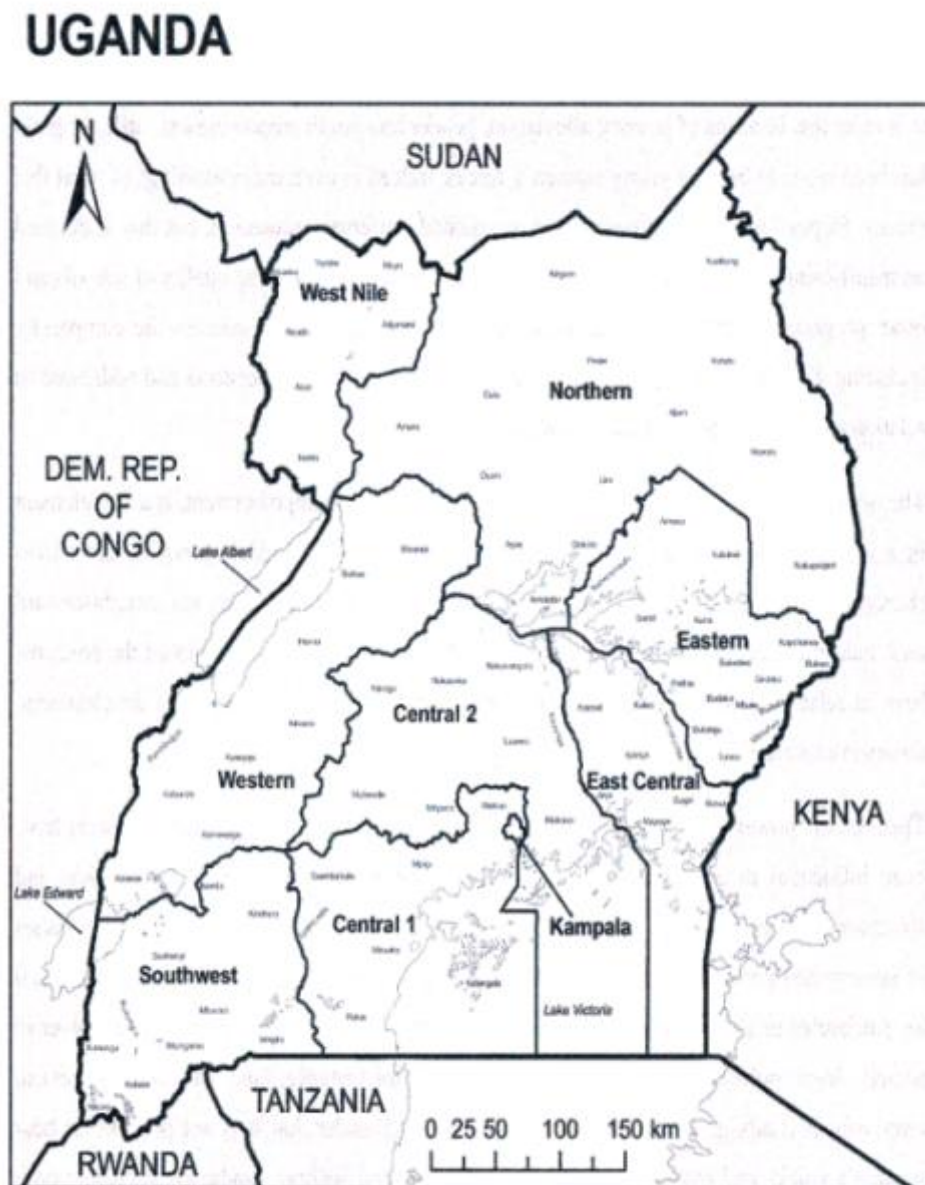
Ethnicity is another risk factor identified with Uganda having 14 major ethnic groupings (figures are not disaggregated by age so these refer to 15-49 years men and women) (UMOH and ORC Macro 2006). There is considerable variation between the groups. The Basoga are ranked tenth in prevalence (5.6%) with the Batoro having the highest prevalence rates in women and men (16.4%, 12.8%), and the nomadic people of remote North West Uganda, the Karimojong, having the lowest rates (2.1% women, 1.1% men). It should be noted that ethnicity intersects with urban/rural and north/south location indicating that ethnicity and locality should be considered alongside each other. The wide variation, even allowing for the intersection of other positions such as urban location, indicates that belonging to a particular ethnic group is an important issue. However, there is little research about the effects of different cultures on HIV/AIDS status, although there is acknowledgement of the relationship between culture and sexuality (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004; Allen 2006). Whilst religion also plays a central role in Ugandan society, there appears to be little difference by faith in HIV/AIDS prevalence (UMOH and ORC Macro 2006).

The Uganda studies also focused on sex-related risk factors: that is, considering age at first sex; marital status; higher-risk sex (that is, sex with a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner), multiple partners, transactional sex; sexual coercion; and protective behaviours and knowledge (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; UMOH and ORC Macro 2006). Data is available for the study age group 15-19 years, and by sex, but not in relation to ethnicity.

The majority of young people surveyed thought that young men and women should remain virgins until they married. However, the timing of first sexual intercourse shows that by 18 years for young men, and by 16.5 years for young women, 75% have had first sex, the majority with a girlfriend or boyfriend. The percentage of young men ever having had sex, who are15-17 years, is 27%, and by 18-19 years it is 59%. The percentage of young women ever having had sex, who are 15-17 years, is 34%, and 77% at 18-19 years (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004; Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). The studies show that there is a slight tendency for risk to be lower for those whose sexual

debut is later, with this link most evident in women. For example, HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher for women who first had sex before reaching age 15 years (11%) and steadily declines to 6% among women who delayed first sex until age 20 or older; whereas the pattern amongst men is the opposite, although with a more muted effect (UBOS and ORC Macro 2006). The main reasons cited by young women for having sex were as follows: more than half said that they felt like it (three quarters of young men said they felt like it), 10% said it was because they were married, and 10% because they expected gifts (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006).

Marital status (also union) is considered a risk factor for young women. HIV infection is highest amongst young women 15-19 years that are widowed, divorced, separated, or currently married. No particular difference is found between polygynous and non- polygynous marriage. By age 19 years 56.9% of young women are married, with the median age of marriage as just under 18 years, just a few months after age of first sex. While 58.5% of young men are having sex outside marriage with a median age of marriage for young men of 22 years, almost 4 years after sexual debut (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; UBOS and ORC Macro 2006; UMOH and ORC Macro 2006).

Thus, young women drop out of school precipitously from the age of 17 years; because they marry or become pregnant; although early marriage is in decline it is still common. Most sexual relations for young women in this age group is within marriage. At age 17 years just over half of young women are in school; yet by 19 well over half are married and out of school, and almost half of young men are still in school. In the age group 15-19 years, 23% of young women in union or not, will have a child, often with an older partner. Yet, 60% of young women in union aged 15-19 years said that they would prefer to delay pregnancy, or not get pregnant (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; UMOH and ORC Macro 2006). The fertility rate in Uganda remains high at 6.8 children per Ugandan woman (Government of Uganda 2010).

The lowest levels of infection are found among young people who have never married. Among young women, those who have higher-risk sex are slightly more likely to be HIV positive than those who do not have higher-risk sex.

The opposite is true for young men. Higher-risk sex is associated with the common practice of transactional sex, linked to having older male partners, and multiple partners (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004; Chatterji, Murray et al. 2005; Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; UBOS and ORC Macro 2006). Although transactions in sex are not exclusive to young women, a high number of young women, 75%, as a proportion of those who are having sex receive gifts (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004). Swezey's findings (2004) describe this as part of the phenomenon of 'admiration' of women from Busoga for men for the gifts they can provide, in an environment where women lack their own resources. However, there are indications of the need for a nuanced understanding of transactions in sexual relations with the suggestion of a complex continuum of reasons for gift-giving and receiving as part of a relationship; including gifts for basic needs as well as for status, pleasure and relating (Weissman, Cocker et al. 2003; Samara 2010).

The Uganda studies also show that a major risk factor for young women is that of coerced sex. This is a particularly noteworthy issue for very young women, 12-14 years, who are especially vulnerable by virtue of their young age to forced sex and older partners (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). More than 50% of young women said that they had not been very willing during their first sexual experience, and 23% were not willing at all (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). Sexual coercion is described as including being touched, kissed, grabbed or fondled in an unwanted sexual way. Young men also experience unwanted sexual attention but in smaller numbers. 30% of young women surveyed experienced sexual coercion from a stranger, 25% from an acquaintance, 22% a boyfriend, and 18% a schoolmate (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). In one study young women participants from Busoga used the terms 'rape' or 'forced sex' to describe an act of sexual intercourse in which the young woman had not consented, usually involving physical violence. Non-violent physical coercion, such as fondling the breasts, was said to occur mainly between girlfriends and boyfriends. Also coercion by male teachers was mentioned, with such acts being described as making young women 'feel bad' (Hayer 2010). Mirembe and Davies (2001) noted that sexual harassment between pupils in Ugandan schools tended to be more verbal than physical

and it was less hidden than that between teacher and pupil, with male teachers being concerned about prosecution.

Sexual knowledge is at a very high level in Uganda amongst 15-19 year youth. Awareness of HIV is almost universal; the majority believes that the transmission of the virus can be reduced by not having sex at all (92-93%), having just one partner (89%), and using a condom correctly at every sexual intercourse (89-91%). 92% of young women and 96% of young men aged 12-19 years know at least one modern method of contraception. The most commonly known are the male condom, the pill and injectables. Young women are more likely to have ever used a contraceptive method than young men. The most common reason cited by young women for using a condom is preventing pregnancy (47%), 39% for reasons of pregnancy and STI prevention (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). Most young people report that they obtain information about reproductive health from school/teachers, mass media and their family. But young people say they would like to obtain their information from school/teachers, health care workers, and the media in that order (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006).

However, high levels of knowledge of the transmission of HIV, and ways of protecting against it, do not necessarily translate into the same levels of protected sexual intercourse; with only 35% of young women, who are 15-19 years, and 44% of young men ever using a protective method during sexual intercourse, the majority of them using the male condom (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004). The main reason given for not using protection is being married and this includes wanting to get pregnant, concerns about trust, partner's opposition, and religious prohibition. Also, misconceptions about methods; and costs related to purchase were cited as reasons for not using protection. Also, and significant in relation to the availability of sexual health services, young people reported feeling fearful or too embarrassed to seek sexual health information and services. It should be noted, however, that there has been a considerable rise in contraceptive use by young people over the last decade in Uganda, although numbers are still low (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004; Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006).

Also, a large proportion of young women (56%) reported having felt pressure, to varying degrees and in various forms, to not have sexual intercourse. (This also applied to young men, although to a slightly lesser extent). This was mainly from mothers, other female family members, fathers, teachers and friends. Two thirds of young people cited HIV/AIDs as the reason for not having sex, although for young women pregnancy was also an important reason cited (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). These studies show that there is an unmet need for contraception amongst 15-19 years young women of at least 25% (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004).

There is broad agreement that poverty provides a basis for young women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infection, but the relationship between poverty and risk is a complex and contextual one (Mabala 2006; Bruce and Hallman 2008). The Uganda studies show that HIV/AIDS prevalence increases with wealth. Prevalence rates rise from 4.8% in women and 4% in men in the lowest wealth quintile, to 11% in women and 5.5% in men in the highest quintile. However, this picture is complicated by other factors such as the intersection of wealth and urban locality.

Ugandan young people's experiences of poverty contribute to the multiple vulnerabilities that increase risk. Digging and domestic work for other households, and other low-income jobs, may leave young women vulnerable to HIV by virtue of having few resources (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004). Also, less than half of Ugandan youth live with their biological parents, 40% of young women and 44% of young men, and this can contribute to HIV/AIDS risk by reducing the protection that is provided by parental presence and increasing the chances of poverty (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006).

Education is widely viewed as providing protection against HIV/AIDS (UNICEF 2004). Education provides the basis for a greater comprehension of risk and knowledge about HIV/AIDS for young people. It can be particularly important for young women offering them the wider advantages of increased confidence, educational skills, and increased employability and status. Yet, the Uganda studies show that women (15-49 years) with no education have the lowest rates of 2.9% (men with no education, 7.5%), and this rises to

7.7% for women (4.5% for men) for 'Primary incomplete' education, and 9.8% (6.5%); 'Primary complete' education; whilst dropping to 7.6% (4.4%) for 'Secondary plus'. This picture is also complicated by relationships with urban risk and other factors. Also, there are issues not only of access or attendance at school as protecting against HIV/AIDS but concerns for the quality of the school experience. Whether or not the environment of school is sexual health friendly and health enhancing is of vital importance for young women (UNICEF 2004; Kakuru 2006). In Busoga, early marriage is more common for poor families, with daughters pulled out of school because of lack of funds, but also in preference to having out-of-school daughters at risk of HIV/AIDS (Swezey 2004).

Risk was shown to increase when young women drop out of school and do not get access to later primary or secondary education, often because of early marriage. Bruce and Hallman (2008) describe early marriage as a key factor in high HIV/AIDS prevalence; given that once married young women are vulnerable to unprotected sex and are typically younger and less educated than their husbands, with fewer assets.

I have used an epidemiological lens in this section to focus on the situation of young women of Busoga and HIV/AIDS giving a partial view of their vulnerability, and discussing data on prevalence and aspects of risk of the study group. The studies here demonstrate the importance of the intersection of positions, and the need to consider complexity and context-specificity in relation to risk. However, such an epidemiological focus has its limitations. It does not provide indepth understandings of sexual lives, and related gender norms and inequalities. Also, and crucial in this study, an epidemiological lens cannot convey young women's voices and viewpoints. Allen (2006) notes that, in the battle against HIV/AIDS, epidemiological and behavioural 'data' is given weight over ethnographic 'anecdote'. The next section considers ethnographic sources, describing the legacy of social, cultural and historical roots on young women's lives.

2.3 Young Women's Lives and the Basoga Legacy

Invisible Farmers

The Basoga, part of the wider Bantu[3] grouping, previously resided within what was known as the Busoga Kingdom in South Eastern Uganda (see Figure 1, Ethnographic Map of Uganda). Saltman (1987), drawing from Fallers[4], describes how under the British colonial model Basoga society continued with a mainly traditional legal system of a hierarchy of chiefs; where all was about the relations, within indigenous customary law, between lord and peasant farmer. From a gendered perspective, the system was mainly about relations between men of different social standing, with an emphasis on clan relations.

The Basoga[5] people continue to exist as a social entity within Ugandan society today. Busoga the place loosely encompasses a number of districts in Eastern Uganda which are rural and agricultural. Basoga traditions continue in some form allowing for social, economic and political change ((Sorensen 1996; Swezey 2004; Parikh 2007). Ethnicity remains an important feature of Ugandan society characterized by significant differences, such as language. Yet there is much crossover of cultural experiences and external influences are very important. For instance, there is now greater mobility, increased access to modern media and communications, monetization, and a key role for faith-based organizations (Parikh 2007).

Historically women of Busoga played a major role in agriculture within a patrilineal system; not as landowners but as agricultural labourers. A 'patrilineal' system ensures that land ownership passes through the male

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[3] The Bantu are a major ethnic grouping of Southern Uganda to which the Basoga belong, along with others such as their larger neighbour the Baganda (Fallers 1965, Saltman 1987, Sorensen 1996, Swezey 2004).

[4] Much of what is written about Basoga traditions comes from American anthropologist, Fallers' fieldwork of the 1950s (Fallers 1965, 1969). Sorensen (1996:614) notes that Fallers' work was exceptional for the time because it acknowledged issues of gendered roles and practice.

[5] Swezey (2004:18) on the terms Basoga, Busoga and Lusoga: '..the language is Lusoga, the place (or region) is Busoga, and a person hailing from Busoga is Musoga (plural, Basoga)'.

members of the family or clan, and that children belong to the lineage of their father. Linked to this is the principle of 'patrilocal' residence, which requires that when a woman marries, within a polygynous system, she moves to her husband's home or compound, where they raise their children (Fallers 1965; Goody 1973; Saltman 1987).

Drawing on various ethnographic accounts (Fallers 1965; Musisi 1991; Sorensen 1996) a picture of young women's lives traditionally in Basoga society begins to emerge; one which still shapes their lives today in many of its characteristics. Pre-marriage a girl would live with her family, working on the land. At the age of marriage, at about 13 years or post-menarche, her father would arrange marriage usually within a polygynous household to an older man, based on clan loyalties and to further the interests of the family. In recognition of the value of his daughter as a wife, mother and labourer the father would expect a brideprice to be paid, usually in the form of livestock. His daughter would then join a polygynous household fulfilling her roles as a young co-wife.

Gender relations in the polygynous household would be complex: between husband and wife, between women inter-generationally, and concerning the children of the household. In terms of complex power relations, this might work in the new, young wife's favour (for instance, in terms of her sexual power as a young woman), or against her, with more senior wives having age status, respect in the community, and grown-up children to support them (Sorensen 1996). Social expectations in relation to the young wife might be similar to those described by Fallers for older women. However, there are few accounts of wives' experiences (Musisi 1991; Swezey 2004). Already issues emerge in these texts in the form of competing voices in the traditional household: that is, co-wives, husband, and children (Swezey 2004). Swezey (2004:114) refers to conflict and experiences of jealousy and rivalry between wives, illustrated by the Lusoga term for a co-wife *mughalikwa,* or 'your husband's other woman/wife'. Although, there was also scope for cooperation between wives, husband and children in the interests of food production and child rearing (Sorensen 1996).

Despite the mostly landless nature of women's agricultural labour Fallers (1965) notes that traditionally wives of Busoga in the pre colonial period, within polygynous marriage, controlled a portion of land for food cropping. Fallers (1965:76) cites a male farmer as saying 'The wives rule the plaintain garden'. However, Sorensen (1996) in her study of Basoga agriculture and gender, found that even this small area of autonomy had been lost to women. As a result of post independence reforms, including the ending of state marketing of cash crops in the 1970s and 80s, there was little incentive to produce cotton and coffee and a greater emphasis on production of foods such as rice, 'matooke' (green banana) and cassava, as a source of income. The change in agricultural policy saw the end of women-controlled areas of growing. Sorensen (1996) describes the subsequent commercialization of food crops as causing a breakdown in previous gender roles in relation to agriculture; that is, men having responsibility and control over cash crops and women having responsibility and control over food crops. This situation led to an increase in marital bargaining and competition over roles and income and a lessening of women's autonomy over a potential source of income. Later, Swezey (2004) finds that Basoga women continue to have less access to income than men, shaped by societal norms.

There is still significant dependence on women's agricultural production in Uganda today and whilst there are new laws concerning ownership most land is still acquired through inheritance (Kwesiga 1998) and land titles and tenure tend to be vested in men either by legal condition or socio-cultural norms (World Bank 1993; Namuli 2005). 'Women in Uganda are involved in all agricultural activities, ranging from land preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting, and post-harvest activities as well as marketing' (Karuhanga-Beraho 2002:93). Women produce over 70% of the country's food crops and 53% of the labour required for cash crop cultivation (World Bank 1993; Ministry of Agriculture (MAAIF) 2000). Yet women's contribution to the economy is not matched by their control of or access to resources, with only 7% of Ugandan women owning land (Ministry of Gender 1999; Karuhanga-Beraho 2002). Today, Basoga men remain as heads of households and

predominantly as land owners and decision-makers they control family resources (Swezey 2004).

A crucial legacy emerges from this discussion (Musisi 1991). The Basoga system that developed denied women access to owning land and other sources of income and as such it is a likely cornerstone of Basoga gender inequalities. The situation was then compounded post-independence by the loss of autonomy over the household 'garden' and subsequent loss of a source of income leading to further reduced agency (Sorensen 1996). This may apply even more so to young women who, as daughters or younger wives in polygynous households, may have reduced bargaining power.

Today Basoga is still essentially an agricultural society, as is Uganda with 87% of the population being rural and agriculture based (Ministry of Agriculture (MAAIF) 2000; Government of Uganda 2010). On leaving school many young men turn to farming, usually receiving a portion of land from their father. They may also have scope to set up small businesses or seek employment outside agriculture, such as, taxi work, trading, labouring (Swezey 2004; Parikh 2007). As with adult women, farming is pivotal to young women's lives today. It dictates how young women spend much of their time; and to this must be added other household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and childcare. Even though only some young women will attend school today, yet all will farm[6]. Yet, they do not control the production of their agricultural labour; it is hard from them to make a claim easily on much needed resources for such as school fees and other educational costs.

In contrast to young men, young women do not receive land but must dig for their parents. Nor can they remain unmarried in their parents' home for long. Factors pushing them out include parental reluctance or inability to provide for them. The family may be fearful that they will bring shame by becoming pregnant while still at home, with virginity expected and prized at marriage

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[6] Accept notably perhaps for those young women who attend boarding school. By virtue of being away from home they can only farm in the school vacation. However, boarding schools are more costly to attend.

(See Table 1, Basoga Gender Norms). Also, the family may desire brideprice. Above all the social norm of marriage and having children for young women is of vital importance (Swezey 2004). Young women also may arrange their own exit from the family home by eloping for love and/or acquiring their own home and land to till through marriage.

Various aspects of this situation act as barriers to young women's education. Educational achievement suffers through the demands on their time for needed agricultural labour. Young women, as a valuable agricultural labour force, are less likely to be enrolled in school by their families, or forced to drop out of school to work and/or marry. These issues are of particular concern for poor families who are more dependent on young people's labour (Karuhanga-Beraho 2002; Meinert 2009).

Karuhanga-Beraho's (2002:101) exploration of the well-debated notion of the 'invisible female farmer' in relation to Ugandan women is relevant here. This concerns the idea that although women, including the full participation of young women, are crucial as agricultural producers and farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa, their labour is undercounted and under-valued. In HIV/AIDS control, within a typically narrow social analysis and response, young women's agricultural role goes largely unrecognized. Yet, young women's lower status as 'invisible farmers' is likely to contribute to HIV/AIDS because it reduces access to education, and contributes to their poverty, vulnerability, and voicelessness. The role of labour in young women's lives it is not sufficiently factored into educational and sexual health interventions.

Good, Young Wives

Marriage and fertility customs and practice are an area of significant study in the lives of African women (Arnfred 2004); although there is little of African women's voices on the matter (Steady 2003; Arnfred 2004; Swezey 2004). Studies of marriage in Busoga centre on polygyny, given that the Basoga were a highly polygynous society (Fallers 1965; Musisi 1991; Sorensen 1996; Swezey 2004; Parikh 2007). As such it has had, and continues to have, significant ramifications for young women's lives. Although polygyny is in decline it leaves a powerful cultural legacy in relation to Basoga union today.

Musisi[7] (1991), in her study of the Baganda, describes polygynous marriage in the past as not only shaping women's lives in an everyday sense, but also having a significant influence on women's status and contributing more generally to the development of the culture within which is it embedded. She describes the pre-colonial development of politicized clans in Buganda, based on principles of patrilocality and patrilineality, as the basis for polygyny providing the means through which a clan could increase its numbers and its social and political strength. In this way polygyny contributed to greater social and gender differentiation, a strong class hierarchy, and it involved distribution and re-distribution of women as a resource. Musisi (1991) makes the link between polygyny and gender inequality, through women's lack of ownership of resources and women *as* a resource. Women found themselves facing increasingly differentiated gender roles and (further) normalization of the subordinate woman in relation to male power.

There would appear to be an important relationship between polygyny, early marriage, and young women's labour on the farm. Sorensen (1996) found that about 50% of marriages in Busoga were polygynous, which

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[5] It seems legitimate to draw on Musisi's work as Basoga society has been much influenced by its powerful and larger Bantu neighbour Buganda, with its similar features of patrilocality, patrilineality, polygyny and bride price, and because of her special perspective as a uniquely feminist historian of women of Uganda (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002).

demonstrates that, although in decline, there were still a significant number of traditional households at the time of her study. She refers to the continuing value of polygyny to the society in relation to the heavy workload required especially for the labour-intensive production of rice, and the need for more than one wife to help in this production. Yet, by the time of Swezey's study (2004) there is reference to more than one wife as stretching resources and changes are emerging in Basoga marriage practices (See also Parikh 2007). There is an increasing demand for smaller families with fewer wives because of the high cost of education and health, with an increasing preference for non agricultural employment, despite agriculture still being the economic mainstay of Busoga (Parikh 2007; Government of Uganda 2010).

In Anderson's (2007) analysis of brideprice in Sub-Saharan Africa a link is made to women's value in agriculture, as well as to their reproductive capabilities. He cites Boserup's (1970) argument that brideprice is associated with agriculture which relies on light tools, such as the hoe, as is the case in Busoga; where the groom's family or clan pay the brideprice, traditionally received by the parents in the form of livestock. Brideprice-paying societies tend to be patrilineal and patrilocal, with brides joining the household of grooms and their families upon marriage (Goody 1973).

Brideprice as a custom is in general decline in Uganda, with a greater decline in urban areas (Andersen 2007). Anderson (2007) notes that brideprice which traditionally was in the form of livestock, is increasingly paid in cash. He cites the reason for decline as modernization. Today a husbands' desire for marriage may be influenced by the cost of sending children to school and other demands on cash income. Swezey (2004) points out that, whilst it is still relevant, the Basoga have always paid a low brideprice.

So, marriage customs, in particular polygynous practice alongside the property-less nature of women's position, would appear to have significantly shaped women's status in Basoga society and gendered roles and behaviours of men and women. Historical norms of status and gendered behaviour emerge from Fallers' work. He (Fallers 1965:78) captures the traditional idea of a good wife. Whilst the man was the centre of authority in

the household the good wife was one who produced children, worked hard around the house, and kneeled for her husband while addressing him as *ssebo* (sir) or *mukama wange* (my lord) (in Sorensen 1996:614). It would be reasonable to suppose that the good, young woman or wife would have a similar experience of marriage; that is, as a subordinate wife to a more powerful husband.

In terms of the legacy of male power and female subservience there would appear to be various indications of its persistence and place in Basoga society today. Men remain as heads of household, responsible for decisions including those about resources. Women have limited agency and are dependent; their status rests with having children and the status of the male head of house (Swezey 2004) (See also Table 1, Basoga Gender Norms). In Busoga the definition of adult womanhood is not based solely on age. Regardless of age if a woman has not produced a child she is defined as *mughala* or girl rather than as a *mukazi* or woman. A woman who has never married is also referred to as a *mughala* (girl) regardless of her age (Swezey 2004:122); thus emphasizing through language how women are defined by marriage and motherhood or fertility.

Basoga women appear to have little control over their husbands or partners' sexual behaviour. Parikh (2007) describes modern norms of the 'good husband' of Busoga; that of providing economic support to the family, and keeping extra-marital relations out of the public eye, rather than remaining faithful within marriage. Parikh (2007) relates this increased secrecy to the social stigma arising from the strong 'medico-moral' HIV/AIDS prevention messages around multiple relationships, which with the increased informality of sexual relationships, has perversely added to the risk of HIV/AIDS (Parikh 2007).

Also, Tamale (2000) refers to the tradition of pleasing husbands sexually. Although she is referring to the Baganda this may reasonably be applied to neighbouring Basoga society. She notes that there is no reciprocity evident in relation to this customary norm today. Yet she also notes signs of resistance as women start making claims for their own sexual pleasure. Also, there is a

growing discourse concerning love, trust and monogamy in Uganda's popular culture, TV soaps, the media, and influenced by the evangelical movement (Parikh 2007), which is also shaping norms of sex and gender in Basoga union.

Swezey (2004:245) in her study of Basoga marriage investigates the idea of women's *okwegbomba* (admiration) as a strong factor in relationships with men. This is the situation where women admire the things that men can give them (such as soap, Vaseline, sugar) that they are unable to access for themselves; whereas men admire women in relation to their female beauty and sexual worth. This situation of admiration for men within a sexual relationship increases women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

Sorensen (1996) refers to a preference for young wives within polygyny, but that older wives have higher status. Thus through polygyny, a tradition of older husbands or partners, and early marriage or union, has been well established and is an important part of young women's lives today with ongoing implications for young women in relation to older male partners; increasing risk of HIV/AIDS and relating to issues of inequality in sexual relations. There is a considerable body of research concerning age asymmetry in sexual relations in Uganda and there are debates about whether or not young women have sexual agency within such relationships (Neema, Moore et al. 2007). This issue is made more difficult and hard to address by a tendency to represent young people as risk-takers as this may mask their vulnerability and inexperience and overlooks cultural and historical context (Macleod 2003). It is likely, looking at the evidence that the effect of traditions of early marriage and asymmetrical sexual relations in Busoga, given the norms of subordinate wife and powerful husband, continues to contribute to lack of agency and voice of young women. This is further exacerbated by their reduced status as a result of having to drop out of school to marry or bear a child.

Historical accounts indicate that there was a degree of flexibility within Basoga polygyny, contributing to the current system of union (Parikh 2007). Fallers (1965) noted that it was common for wives to leave their husbands

and return to parent's home during the early years of marriage. The type of patrilineality practiced by the Basoga meant that women remain as members of their clan after marriage and as a result women faced competing loyalties. This contributes to the custom whereby traditional arrangements for separation are made relatively easy. Today the picture is one of union which is more fluid as well as often being a process rather than a single event (Swezey 2004). Arrangements might include a pre marriage relationship, monopoly, and/ or concurrent partners (Parikh 2007). This is supported by easy separation arrangements and low brideprice. Parikh notes that today informal secondary household's are common as is male extra-marital sex contributing to HIV/AIDS risk (Parikh 2007).

Yet despite the increased fluidity and flexibility of relationships there is stigma attached to Basoga women living alone. Today single women living in rented rooms are in danger of being described as *Malaya* (Swahili for prostitute, or 'loose' woman (Obbo 1976), illustrating the stigmatizing nature of being without a man as head of household (Swezey 2004).

Research relating to Basoga marriage or union provides valuable evidence of the legacy of marriage practices and its contribution to young women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS (Neema, Moore et al. 2007). Despite legal, political and social efforts by Uganda government and the active women's movement in Uganda (Ministry of Gender 1999; Tripp and Kwesiga 2002; V Von Struensee 2004), an environment which contributes to young women's vulnerability in sexual relations still pervades. This is manifest in various ways: as gender based violence; women lacking say in relation to marriage; a tendency to older partners which reduces young women's agency and increases risk through norms of male extra marital sex and unequal power relations; limiting of life choices as a result of early marriage and pregnancy; continuing norms of male power and female subservice affecting young women's access to resources, promoting transactional sex and reducing opportunities for women to enjoy sexual fulfillment; and stigmatizing of independent women (Obbo 1976; Swezey 2004; Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; Tamale 2006; Neema, Moore et al. 2007).

Table 1: Basoga Gender Norms

Rights and responsibilities of a Musoga girl	Rights and responsibilities of a Musoga boy	Rights and responsibilities of a Musoga woman	Rights and responsibilities of a Musoga man
To get married	To become an heir.	To be a housewife.	Head of his family.
To bring wealth out of a brideprice.	To marry a woman out of his sister's brideprice	To produce children.	To marry women.
Always stay beside her mother at all times.	To help a father in his duties.	To grow food for the family.	To be the money earner and provider for family.
Helps mother in doing housework, eg, cooking, looking after the young ones and father, fetching water.	Does not cook or help his mother as with the Musoga girl.	To look after the husband and children.	The only decision maker for his family members.
Helps mother to cultivate food and prepare it.	To own land.	Not to own land.	To own land.
Not to be in boy's/men's groups.	Is free to go anywhere if he feels like it.	Not to have money. Responsible for the purchase of household commodities such as saucepan, plates, cups, and salt.	To look for a job.
To get a little education; if not at all it does not matter.	Is expected to get the highest education. Priority is given to him for education.	To respect the husband.	To build a home/house.
To remain a virgin until marriage.	Controls the movements of girls.	To help her parents.	To be respected.
	To build a house.	To maintain cleanliness of the home, children, plus husband.	To protect his parents.
		To teach children manners.	To pay graduated tax.
			To be strong.

Source: Family AIDS Workers (FAW) training session in Uganda. Swezey 2004:137.

Schoolgirls of Busoga

The single most significant change in the lives of young women of Busoga, offering an alternative to marriage and motherhood but not displacing their role as young farmers and workers at home has been that of education. Young women as school attendees are shaping new notions of young womanhood. Yet, considerable tensions with traditional roles and norms remain. Education gives young women a sense of a different life, offering different possibilities. Increasingly it influences what happens around marriage and labour. The participants in this study, who are 15-19 years, are all attending school. Yet they are at different levels of upper primary and secondary school and this is a common situation (see Chapter Four, Table 3). This puts them in the half of young women who are still attending school at this age.

Universal primary education (UPE) was introduced in Uganda in 1997, and it has one of the highest enrolments in Africa for the age group 10-14 years: with 93% of girls and 98.5% of boys attending school (Meinert 2009). The education system consists of 7 years of primary education, followed by 4 years of secondary schooling and a further 2 years in secondary school for advanced level (Meinert 2009). Despite near equal enrolment at primary school boys perform much better than girls (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002; Meinert 2009). Yet, primary education alone provides limited opportunities for salaried work.

High costs for school fees and related expenses are a barrier to education. Costs are variable depending on type of school, and depend on the level of state support, including whether schools are partially funded (such as faith-based schools), or in the private sector. Also the opportunity cost of young women's schooling is high given their essential labour at home. Many parents prefer to send their daughters outside the state system, because of lack of funding in state schools (Tumushabe, Barasa et al. 1999).

A host of challenges (such as lack of school fees and burdens of work at home) lead to young women spending many years repeating classes. Whilst

13 years is the official age for going to secondary school few young women make it by that age. Most over 13 years are in primary classes meant for younger children. This has major implications not only for the education, in an academic sense of achievements in literacy and numeracy, but also for young women's exposure to the wider benefits of education; such as access to health and social programmes, including HIV/AIDS education (Tumushabe, Barasa et al. 1999; Tripp and Kwesiga 2002; Kakuru 2006; Meinert 2009).

Kakuru (2006) in her study of Ugandan education and gender, noted that male pupils are allocated more talking-time, and were more confident to participate in class. Teachers found it difficult to foster gender equality in classroom participation. Also there is the issue of a pre-dominance of male teachers especially in secondary schools. Girls and young women were noted to refrain from verbal exchange in class. Also, it was noted that female pupils from households affected by HIV/AIDS were 'fatigued' in school, with poorer classroom contributions as a result and tardiness and absenteeism because of the multiplicity of household tasks have made worse by sickness. Such differences were less noticeable in private schools perhaps due to reduced dependency on farming and because families have some ability to pay for help at home (Kakuru 2006).

A 15-19 year old young woman from Busoga today is likely to either be attending primary school or she is just out of primary school on the cusp of early marriage and childbearing. She may be fortunate enough to have had some exposure to secondary school, but even young women in this category are on the verge of marriage and early childbirth. Whereas a young man of Busoga may also be in primary school or just out, or be at secondary school, and then he will begin to establish himself economically. He will have several sexual partners before settling down to marriage in his early twenties (Joshi forthcoming 2010). For Basoga young people radio and perhaps increasingly the mobile phone will be their lifeline to the outside world. For both young women and young men the economic future will be very uncertain. For young men, it will depend upon what they are able to achieve for themselves. For young women, it will depend upon the situation of the husband they marry.

This section considered the historical and cultural roots of young women's lives. It has focused on young women of Busoga as invisible farmers; as young wives or potential young wives, often to older husbands. Gender roles and norms which disadvantage young women have also been considered, and the tensions and difficulties relating to getting an education in their lives explored.

There is limited knowledge about the effects of modern society and culture on Basoga young women in the literature. There is evidence of social change, with a blending of traditional Basoga practice and new ways. Young women are moving into the public sphere of school and work outside the home. Yet their lives are still very much shaped by tradition. Important changes affecting young women include increased geographical mobility for schooling or work. This often involves migration to more urban areas and dislocation from parental households. Also rapid urbanization and mobility is contributing to different forms of union and changes in other social norms and behaviours.

2.4 Responses to HIV/AIDs and Young Women of Busoga

HIV/AIDS prevention plays a significant role in the lives of young women from early childhood. A young woman is likely to have considerable knowledge as well as experience of the effects of HIV/AIDS, from various sources official and unofficial, local and national (Ministry of Health and Macro International 2006). She may have experienced the pain of a family member (possibly a parent or sibling) who has become ill and died. She will be surrounded by references to HIVAIDS; in the form of media and government messages, programmes in school, funerals, conversations with friends and family, messages from the clergy (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). Both the fear of HIV/AIDS and the reality of it are ever-present in her daily life.

Uganda has a long and arguably successful history in HIV prevention covering a period of some three decades (Barnett and Whiteside 2002; Stoneburner and Low-Beer 2004; Allen 2006). The Ugandan government continues to have a strong focus on HIV/AIDS education and prevention efforts to reduce prevalence amongst young people. The main prevention strategy is aimed at young people, 15-24 years, based on behaviour change which targets individual risk avoidance (Halperin and Steiner 2004; Mabala 2006; WHO 2006; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). Bruce and Hallman (2008) note that 15 years is late to target for the greatest effectiveness of sexuality messages. But there is resistance in Uganda to sex being discussed with younger age groups. This poses particular problems for young women who repeat school years, may still be attending primary level after 13 years, and then drop out of school shortly afterwards and thus miss out on prevention programmes aimed at 15-24 years in secondary school.

The behaviour change format for young people in Uganda is essentially that of the ABC message (Abstain, Be Faithful, use a Condom) with most emphasis on abstinence and little on safer sex such as use of condoms (IPPF 2006). The ABC message is part of the secondary school curriculum, teachers receive training in behaviour change, and School Health Clubs provide a focus for HIV/AIDS education (Uganda AIDS Commission 2008). For out-of-school young people, HIV prevention messages are provided

mainly through media campaigns and community programmes. There has been critique of the ABC and behaviour change model in Uganda for the emphasis on abstinence and a lack of focus on safer sex, including insufficient promotion of condom use amongst young people, with condoms in short supply, and stigma associated with their use (IPPF 2006). However, Uganda has also been recognized for a history of directness in HIV prevention campaigns and messages and provision of high level political support from the early days of the epidemic (Stoneburner and Low-Beer 2004).

Traditionally sources of sexuality information and support for young women came from within the family, often from a female member of the family (Tamale 2006). Yet this is now expected to more readily come through schools; although agencies such as faith-based and international NGOs and community groups also play a crucial role (Tamale 2006; Neema, Moore et al. 2007). This not only poses a challenge for those young women who are out-of-school, but it also puts more pressure on schools as the main means for HIV prevention targeted at young people (Mirembe and Davies 2001; Kakuru 2006; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). Mirembe and Davies (2001) argue that this is a problem because schools are a poor conduit for HIV prevention especially in relation to young women because of issues of sexual violence often involving male teachers, a serious lack of female role models, and other issues of the quality of education, such as large class size, didactic teaching methods, and lack of resources.

Today, with high levels of knowledge about HIV/AIDS amongst young people, and well established behaviour change programmes in schools, communities, and the media the emphasis in HIV prevention is increasingly on 'upstream' concerns, such as addressing the societal context which shapes the multiple vulnerabilities faced by young women, and there are increasing calls for prevention which focuses on wider contextual change including to gender relations (Dworkin and Erhardt 2007; Campbell and Cornish 2010; Walakira 2010).

Uganda has an active women's movement, and it may be that in the context of gender empowerment wider change will contribute to addressing the vulnerability of young women beyond HIV education. There have been legal and educational gains in relation to gender inequality in Uganda (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002). But, there is still much to be done, including addressing issues of access and quality of young women's educational experience; legal changes concerning property and women's rights; and considerable progress needs to be made on matters of sexual violence (Mirembe and Davies 2001; Tripp and Kwesiga 2002; IPPF 2006).

Yet, progress is limited by a concern that sexuality education and gender empowerment are positively dangerous for young women as they lead to increases in risky and unacceptable behaviour. Thus, on the one hand a gender empowerment approach is seen as desirable even essential to achieve HIV/AIDS prevention goals (IPPF 2006). Yet there are strong currents of resistance to it as a dangerous path to take, especially in relation to young women (Sussman 2006). In the light of such resistance, there is a lack of strategies for taking gender empowerment forward within societal change (Dworkin and Erhardt 2007).

In Uganda the HIV/AIDS epidemic is described as mature and still serious, and prevalence rates have stalled and may increase (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). Against this background, as well as that of continued gender inequality, there is need for renewed efforts. Uganda has a 'road map on prevention' for the future and in relation to young people this continues to place emphasis on behaviour change, but also on extending life skills education within schools (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). Life skills are perceived as a more palatable strategy than that of sexuality education, given fears of risky youth behaviours (Boler and Aggleton 2005).

Ugandan life skills education, growing out of an earlier health education initiative, is intended to strengthen HIV/AIDS education by helping students to develop skills in 'assertiveness, decision making and effective communication' (Buczkiewicz and Carnegie 2001; Boler and Aggleton 2005). However, given that life skills are delivered within schools where norms of

didactic teaching in large class groups is at odds with an initiative better suited to a participatory active learning environment (Buczkiewicz and Carnegie 2001), there are still major concerns for young women, and young men, benefiting from life skills training. Also, this can only be part of a wider agenda of addressing gender inequality and empowerment strategies in relation to young women, within programmes aimed at fundamental societal change.

2.5 Conclusion

This review explored the literature on the lives of young women of Busoga, how their lives and gendered roles are shaped by history and culture, poverty and institutions in the society, and by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The context of young women's lives appears to contribute to silencing them and to risk in relation to HIV/AIDS. In chapter three the literature about the barriers to young women's voices and possibilities for developing agency in this context is explored, looking forward to the chapters presenting the study.

CHAPTER THREE
BARRIERS TO YOUNG WOMEN'S VOICES AND POSSIBILITIES
FOR DEVELOPING AGENCY

3.1 Barriers to Young Women's Voices in their Lives

Many young women in Sub-Saharan Africa experience multiple vulnerabilities in their lives and these present obstacles to them having a say in sexual relations (Phoenix and Pattynama 2006; UNICEF 2007; Boesten and Poku 2009). In a health agenda it is considered important to explore intersections of vulnerability if policy and programmes are to be effective, as it comes closer to the reality of issues which need to be addressed (Campbell, Foulis et al. 2005). For young women of Africa the intersection of being female as well as being young, whilst not being exclusive grounds for vulnerability, creates many of the difficulties in speaking and having agency.

Being female has a significant effect on women's voices within the sex-gender systems of Sub-Saharan Africa (Rubin 1997; Afshar 1998; Arnfred 2004). Gender inequality plays a major role in many young women's daily lives. It relates to lack of agency in the home, family and community setting, and in school with young women lacking a voice to compete for resources in a scarce environment, such as competing with young men for education (Stromquist 2002). Young women are often confined to the domestic sphere within a patriarchal system, which undervalues their labour and reproductive role. In these circumstances they are a resource in many societies, bringing their labour to a husband and family through marriage (Rubin 1997). Rubin (1997) notes that because women are a resource they are 'objects' of exchange, and as such it is not possible for them to have a voice. Men on the other hand are powerful as givers and receivers of women, with male voices dominating these processes of exchange. The various debates about gender inequality including concerns for inequality and kinship, give a sense of the longstanding, deep-seated and complex nature of gender inequalities providing formidable barriers to women's voices.

Young women's vulnerability also relates to being young, especially in the development context (Kurz and Prather 1995; White 2002; Holt and Holloway 2006; Bruce and Hallman 2008). The young face barriers to having a say by virtue of not having access to sources of power and resources. They are dependent on others who have power; usually significant adults such as parents, teachers, and husbands. In addition, issues of protection and dependency add to the complexity of youth-adult power relations (White 2002). Young people are not easily able to counter their position of marginalization given their lack of power and limited access to resource. Combining the disadvantages of being female with being young, young women experience issues of voicelessness different from those of adult women and young men, even though they are often subsumed into these groups for the purposes of development targeting (Kurz and Prather 1995). They are likely to have their own heterogeneous positions and viewpoints.

Many societies have different culturally idealized notions of young womanhood. Such characteristics as embodied silence and subordination can be found in different social contexts (Harcourt 2009). Norms of a submissive body and limited voices but may also depend on 'place', such as what is considered appropriate at home, at school, or at church. Gendered differences may mean that by contrast young men are permitted to have more powerful voices and assertive bodies, depending on the context (Connell 1995; Esplen 2006).

There is relatively little known about young women of Africa's intimate lives from their perspectives, their social and emotional experiences and sexuality, within a more general lack of African women's voices (Arnfred 2004). Global girlhood scholars link lack of voice to changes after puberty as girls become young women; 'the dawning of adolescence, 'muffles' that clear voice, silencing girls.' (Mahoney 2009:610). As a result of society's subordinating tendencies, 'loss of voice, or silence, becomes both the cause and the result of low self-esteem, poor or inauthentic relationships, and inability to take action in the world' (Mahoney 2009:615). Taylor et al (1995) noted in an there influential work that 'at risk' young women are 'strangely silent', that they have

voices and are perfectly capable of first-person speech, but they say, 'nobody listens, nobody cares, nobody asks what they are feeling and thinking' (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995:113). This loss of voice it is argued relates to society's concern that young women if given greater choice, control and agency including in relation to their bodies are dangerous and society must regulate them (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995). Too much freedom is viewed as leading to young women resisting regulatory norms. It is this regulation, they suggest, which 'mutes their voices', their power, and their ability to express themselves (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995).

The situation of voicelessness in sexual lives can be made worse for young women because, unlike adult women, they lack first-hand experience which in the world of sexuality and relationships puts them at an additional disadvantage (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995). Young women may appear to have a high degree of agency in sex, given their new and developing sexual power and attractiveness. They may appear to have powerful voices in sexual negotiation. But, this might hide lack of experience, making them more vulnerable by virtue of appearing to have agency and experience. This lack of experience means that they may not fully comprehend the implications of sexual actions.

3.2 Lack of Young Women's Voices in HIV prevention efforts

Obstacles to young women having a say in their lives relates mainly to social and economic context, but there are also institutional barriers to their voices in HIV prevention. These are discussed further in chapter four as the basis for the study framework of analysis. Here the main points are summarized. Young people have had limited voice in HIV prevention in the Sub-Saharan African region up to now, given standardized models of HIV prevention (Halperin and Steiner 2004; Mabala 2006; WHO 2006; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). Programmes across Africa are based on behaviour change communications principles, using the relatively homogeneous ABC format (Barnett and Whiteside 2006; Parikh 2007; Sahasrabuddhe and Vermund 2009). This approach is based on a health behaviour model which emphasizes the importance of individual behaviour in prevention; and provision of information as the pre-requisite for risk avoidance on the individual level (Fishbein 2000).

Also, political and other external forces have been crucial in shaping youth-targeted programmes; for example, faith-based agendas have stressed the need to regulate young people's sexuality (Allen 2006). As such, institutions and governments have been in the forefront of setting fixed programmes of action, with little scope for the voices of those who are targeted (Urdang 2007). But, as a result issues of context and complex problems such as those of power, gender and culture are neglected and in doing so there is limited place for alternative knowledge and voices to emerge, such as those of young women (Auerbach 2009).

This strategy for HIV prevention has been criticized for an insufficient regard for whether or not an individual has sexual agency (Dworkin and Erhardt 2007; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). Over time, the individual behaviour model has been tempered by alternative discourses such as a stress on protective factors (WHO 2006) and intensified calls for gender inequality to be addressed (Dworkin and Erhardt 2007), and therefore the introduction of community interventions in HIV prevention. Mabala (2006) notes that the ABC behaviour change model is a particular problem for young women where

abstinence may be unrealistic as a result of sexual coercion and reduced choice in sexual lives; where 'being faithful' may ignore norms of male infidelity; and where condom use is based on male decision-making (Mabala 2006; Parikh 2007).

Also, young women's voices in HIV prevention in different contexts may be more limited than those of young men. HIV/AIDS prevention programmes tend not to be differentiated by gender. Yet, important differences between young women and men exist in many communities. For instance, young women are less likely to be at school and therefore they miss out on school-based HIV/AIDS prevention programmes (Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). Young women who are out of school are subsumed into prevention strategies for the wider population, even though they may require different actions in line with their specific needs, and by doing so are more voiceless in prevention efforts (IPPF 2007). Furthermore, the place of school as the site of HIV prevention often silences young women in a variety of ways (Sperandio 2000; Mirembe and Davies 2001).

Another critical concern is that young women and young people in general are 'constructed' by institutions and societies as immature and dependent, rather than as potential participants in programmes (Rogers 2001; White 2002; Macleod 2003). Young people in development and health are predominately perceived as 'adults in the making' linked to biological notions of their maturing and changing physiology, emotional and social state (Lesko 2001; Macleod 2003). Young people constructed as incomplete or 'becoming' rather than being has the effect of rendering them voiceless. It limits institutional recognition of them as being able to contribute in a useful way in prevention and instead young people are perceived as recipients of programmes, needing protection and/or regulation, rather than as participating in and shaping programmes (Foley, Roche et al. 2001; Macleod 2003; Holt and Holloway 2006).

Critical commentators call for a population health, and related HIV/AIDS, which puts greater emphasis on people's participation acknowledging the role of people's voices and actions in their own health; adopting a more holistic,

social and less medicalised approach; and one that is cognizant of underlying theory, such as that of power (Jones and Moon 1992; Gabe, Kelleher et al. 1994; Litva and Eyles 1995; Inhorn and Whittle 2001; Labonte 2005). This critical paradigm for population health if applied to HIV prevention might allow for a less medicalised and standardized approach to surface and may therefore offer better possibilities for young women's voices in HIV prevention.

HIV/AIDS, as a dominant form, excludes alternative forms of expression, language and discourse; for instance, relevant here are those of young women's ways of speaking (Harding 1991; Steady 2003). HIV/AIDS discourses tend towards the biomedical avoiding the difficult and unsayable; such as, sexuality and the sexual body, power, violence, intimacy, emotions, gender and culture (Harcourt 2009). In school-based sexuality education, it is argued, different language and discourse is required (Ingham and Aggleton 2006; Macdowall and Mitchell 2006; Cassar 2009). It needs to be specifically designed to enable young women's voices to be heard in such programmes (Aapola, Gonick et al. 2005; Cassar 2009). This can be through the means of stories and dramas, and other more alternative-type methods (see Cassar's (2009) study of school toilet graffiti). Yet, these are means which struggle to be accepted within the scientific norms of health and development programmes (Inhorn and Whittle 2001; Cassar 2009).

There are alternative models which may offer more potential for young women's voices such as that of 'positive sexuality' or 'healthy sexual development' (World Health Organization 2004; Diamond 2006), with a wider concern for young women's sexual development within 'health-enabling environments' (Campbell and Aggleton 1999) rather than a narrow focus on disease. Although these terms are interpreted in different ways, they represent a relatively common theme of sexuality as 'a central aspect of being human' that 'incorporates eroticism, intimacy, pleasure, reproduction and one's own gender identity' (World Health Organization 2004; Diamond 2006:2). It is argued that 'positive' or 'healthy' sexuality means that the

individual should be enabled to pursue safe and satisfying sexuality (Diamond 2006). A fuller statement from WHO is as follows,

> '*Sexual health is a state of physical, emotional, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality; it is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity. Sexual health requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of pleasurable and safe sexual experiences free of coercion, discrimination and violence' (World Health Organization 2004:3).*

However, these are much contested ideas in relation to promoting young people's sexual health in many settings, given societal fears of 'risky' youth behaviours amongst other influences (Ingham and Aggleton 2006). For those agencies working with young people in such settings where these ideas are not fully accepted in relation to HIV prevention, there is a need for sensitivity in moving forwards, and there is an added challenge in promoting young women's voices.

3.3 Possibilities for Young Women's Voices: gender empowerment and participation in development

Having a say in sexual lives is strongly associated with wider processes of gender empowerment which endeavor to address issues of gender inequality in societies (UNICEF 2007). Young women in the development setting are considered as facing similar issues of inequality to women in general and therefore tend to be considered within the wider agenda (Kurz and Prather 1995; UNICEF 2007).

Women's voices are a key dimension of gender empowerment in Africa. Early gender empowerment involved international and national women's movements, such as that of Uganda (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002), in activism for social and political change addressing issues of gender inequality in the context of poverty (Batliwala 1994; Staudt 2002). Gender empowerment theory is largely based on the challenge to patriarchal power relations, cultures, and structures. These are described as having 'power over' women, resulting in women having less control over material assets and other resources. Furthermore, women have been perceived as participating in their own oppression. It has been argued that they must first gain a consciousness of this oppression, aided by a sense of identity with other women, in order to tackle inequality. The empowerment process is deemed therefore to begin with a process of gaining 'power within' by women accessing new ideas, skills and information. Newly empowered women are then in a position to assert their rights; such as control of resources, and participating in decision making processes. Ultimately, a mass movement may transform existing power relations in societies, with women having a political and strategic voice to address inequalities in society (Batliwala 1994; Kabeer 1994; Rowlands 1995; Afshar 1998; Parpart, Rai et al. 2002; Pearson 2005; Esplen, Heerah et al. 2006).

In addition, the concept 'agency', a notion which relates to voice, has been particularly influential in gender empowerment theory. Having agency is described as being able to make strategic life choices; or, choices that have a significant and fundamental effect on future life as opposed to everyday

choices (Kabeer 1999). In the case of young women here, this might involve choosing to go to school, delaying marriage and choosing who to marry. Kabeer (1999) notes that exercising choice or agency implies a challenge to power relations; that is, women who have agency can speak and be heard in the face of opposition, without fear of being ignored or worse, punished.

Initial, mainstreamed gender empowerment efforts are described as having little relationship with these grassroots and activist origins. 'Women in development' (WID), involved integration of women into existing (mostly economic) development programmes, as part of a modernist agenda, with some attention to reproductive health (Rathgeber 1990). Later, 'gender and development' (GAD) was seen as broad ranging, including appreciation of power relations, support for social development, and greater emphasis on education and health programmes (Porter and Judd 1999). Over the course of gender empowerment history young women have been largely subsumed into a women's agenda (Kurz and Prather 1995).

Notions of 'power within' or transformative power, as a type of empowerment (Kabeer 2005), have been particularly influential. This requires working with the self, and immediate others (power with), to develop confidence and skills as a pre-requisite to being empowered. Gaining transformative power is viewed as entailing 'capacity' development (Mahoney 2009). Hartsock (1985) described it as a type of 'energy' which is generative, persuasive, opening up new possibilities. These ideas of transformative power, dating back to Freire and community development activism in South America (Freire 1972), can be found in many development programmes, educational initiatives, and the work of NGOs in development. Underpinning transformative power theory is the idea that women can become autonomous agents of their own empowerment (Hartsock 1985; Esplen, Heerah et al. 2006). Transformative power is seen as giving women a sense of personal agency, which means having greater self esteem, a degree of control over daily life, life outcomes and the body. Critical thinking skills, including reflection, speaking and being listened to and being heard are vital components of transformative power; they are part of the process of transformation and a significant outcome of

transformation is having a voice. These ideas of 'transformative power' are still influential but they have been challenged and adapted in line with new notions of power and empowerment (Kesby 2005).

Today a major focus of gender empowerment in development is through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Kabeer 2005; Meinert 2009). The main strategy for promoting gender equality and empowerment is to 'eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015' (United Nations 2005). MDGs are described as having hijacked and neutralized gender empowerment with a consequent 'watering down' of the power agenda (Staudt 2002; Kabeer 2005). Whilst provision of women's health services and female enrolment in school are clearly of great importance for young women there has been limited sustained and structural change to the current state of gender inequality (Parpart, Rai et al. 2002; Kabeer 2005).

Despite decades of development young women's lives are still materially shaped by inequality in all areas of life, and indeed there are concerns for the future (Staudt 2002; Stromquist 2002; Kabeer 2005). Weak developing states struggle to provide a democratic framework, as well as social systems and structures for women to achieve equality. Hopes for gender empowerment with a focus on young women are pinned on female education, and although there have been good gains it is still deemed an insufficient response, which is too narrow and does not address issues such as the quality of schools and the role of men in addressing inequalities (Mirembe and Davies 2001{Higgins, 2010 #437)}. Young women have played a limited part in gender empowerment given the homogenizing tendency of discourses and actions and their greater invisibility in many societies (Mohanty 1991; Kurz and Prather 1995) and this still seems to be the case today.

'Participation' has been a key empowerment process in development, not necessarily linked to gender empowerment, but as a popular mechanism in programmes including those in health (de Koning and Martin 1996). Transformative ideas in participation involve developing skills and capacity to participate in social change or in health-related change.

Ideas about participation in development practice are based on respect for people's knowledge and grassroots or local action in communities (de Koning and Martin 1996; Rifkin and Pridmore 2001; Cornwall 2003). There is a valuing of different knowledge, in particular the knowledge of poor communities, and participation is viewed as a means to empower through education and action (de Koning and Martin 1996) with communities and experts learning together as partners (Arnstein 1969; Freire 1972; Chambers 1983; Cornwall and Jewkes 1995). Practitioners have been influential in developing a well-received social practice, deemed quick and practical for accessing community voices, and then relating their knowledge to programmes (Chambers 1994; Chambers 2006; Reason and Bradbury 2006). In principle, the approach requires that communities are involved in all stages of participatory practice; from design, through to decision making (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995; Ansell 2001; Chambers 2006); but in practice this has proved more difficult to achieve (Cleaver 1999; Cooke and Kothari 2001; Kindon, Pain et al. 2007).

Debates and criticism of participation have centered on a lack of adherence to the goal of partnership with communities, with accusations of tokenism. Also, there is a concern for a lack of theoretical transparency and a reluctance to be overly critical of dominant discourse and practice. Further there is a critique of the emphasis on technique over issues of power, and that participation serves powerful interests as itself a kind of power rather than shifting the status quo of dominance (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Kesby 2005). Also, there is the criticism of an over-emphasis on the 'whole' community, to the neglect of the needs and views of vulnerable or silenced groups and individuals (Rifkin 1996); this latter criticism seems particularly relevant to young women who are often invisible and voiceless in participatory practice.

Furthermore, participation faces resistance from the policy community who tend to privilege evidence and ability to generalize from research results, followed by expert-led design and implementation. Evidence is perceived as the basis for expert decision making, although, in reality evidence only ever forms some basis for decisions, with other factors such as historical norms

and politics playing a major role. As discussed earlier, expert-led HIV prevention dominates, although participatory practice does take place often within small scale programmes. Participation, in a general sense, is now a mainstream practice in development. As a result there are those who argue that there is an illusion of being able to hear participant's voices in a partnership arrangement (Cooke and Kothari 2001).

Despite these criticisms there is a growing body of work concerning contemporary participation (Kesby 2005; Cahill 2007; Kindon, Pain et al. 2007; Lundy 2007; Mannion 2010) which suggests that it can be a promising means for promoting young women's voices in HIV prevention; for instance in NGO programmes or schools. Participation scholars recognize the difficulties and criticisms raised about participation but propose that there is potential for an empowerment agenda, although one that rests on different understandings of power (Kesby, Kindon et al. 2005; Cahill 2006; Kindon, Pain et al. 2007).

Contemporary participation is influenced by poststructuralist ideas of power which describe it as fluid rather than fixed; that power is 'everywhere' and as such participation inevitably involves an enactment of power advancing some agenda (Kesby 2005; Kesby, Kindon et al. 2005; Kindon, Pain et al. 2007; Mannion 2010). In the case of HIV prevention such an agenda of participation is typically that of encouraging young people to practice abstinence or safer sex.

This view of participation concerns the influential idea that those who set the agenda, invariably powerful adults and institutions, cannot be ignored in the process. Instead young women are inevitably part of such an enactment of power, in this case that associated with HIV prevention. It is suggested that this does not invalidate participation. Instead it is more explanatory of what is likely to occur. Also, it can still offer opportunities for 'de-stabilizing' norms and transforming selves; for instance relevant here would be 'de-stabilizing' unequal gender relations in sexuality and transforming young people and adults as part of programmes designed to transform institutions and society.

Participation may allow for a greater involvement of young people in a 'relational transaction' which allows them to have more say, including shaping what happens in the transaction and the outcomes of the transaction. Crucial to the argument, is recognition of the importance of exchange between young people and adults in HIV prevention. This exchange is inevitably situated within the enactment of power by adults, but, it is argued, it could be more or less transformative for all involved depending on how it is handled (Lundy 2007; Mannion 2010).

Participation with young people following these precepts needs to offer flexible ways of working oriented to what suits participants, with an emphasis on the needs of the young and the skills of adults. It needs to take into consideration the complexity of young women's lives, but also the complexities of mixed groups working together, such as inter-generational and mixed gender groupings. Arts based method, amongst others, may allow for complex representations of real life, and offer an enabling space for adults and young people to work together (Cahill 2010; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010).

Therefore, as well as raising a concern for workable mechanisms for the voices of the participants in the transaction, it is proposed that providing 'enabling and safe spaces' for participation to occur is important. Whilst developing young women's skills in participation are important, it also concerns developing adults' skills and capacities in 'listening'; given that participation is preferably a 'relational' activity involving co-production for better outcomes in relation to HIV prevention (Kesby 2005; Kesby, Kindon et al. 2005; Kindon, Pain et al. 2007; Lundy 2007; Mannion 2010).

In conclusion, what emerges from this broad discussion are understandings of the obstacles to young women's voices in their sexual lives as being a feature of the social context of gender and youth inequalities, but also relating to institutional barriers in HIV prevention. Addressing this situation involves the macro environment of gender empowerment with particular reference to young women; including transformative activities, designed to develop their critical thinking skills. However, such individual transformative processes by

themselves are not enough. Responses must be contextualized and concerned with wider societal changes relating to sexuality and agency. Social movements, social mobilization and other empowerment approaches to societal change may provide a way forward for HIV prevention. There may be scope, within such wider changes, for specific strategies, for example drawing on contemporary participation theory, to facilitate young women speaking. The next chapter considers the design of the study in the light of this discussion.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE FIELD STUDY OF YOUNG WOMEN'S VOICES

4.1 Introduction

In 4.2 a detailed account of the process of the research is set out. This is one that aims for a workable, contemporary means for young women to speak about their experiences, and a critical framework of analysis, based on a review of current HIV prevention paradigms. In 4.3 is a discussion of the position of the researcher. Section 4.4 describes the selection of participants and other aspects of the fieldwork. Finally, in 4.5/6 there is a reflection on the experience of the research and contributions to method, looking forward to the data chapters 5 to 7.

The research was conducted in partnership with a Ugandan NGO, Straight Talk Foundation (STF) in 2006-2007. STF's experience of working with young people is that, in some Ugandan cultures including that of the Basoga, young men are more confidence and participate more in HIV prevention activities than young women. STF describe this as demonstrated in a range of ways. There is, a pre-dominance of male letter writers to STF youth magazines, male voices dominate in radio and school discussions, and researchers and other programme staff found it difficult to involve Basoga young women within activities (Straight Talk Foundation Uganda 2005 and personal communication). The issue of low participation and the 'quietness' of young women in programmes is one reason for a focus on young women in the study. More crucially, there is the concern for young women's vulnerability in relation to HIV/AIDS and a concern for voicelessness and other issues of gender inequality in their lives (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006{Conn, 2010 #183)}.

Young women of 15-19 years who are living in Busoga were chosen as the study group because they are an important target in HIV prevention (Straight Talk Foundation Uganda 2005; Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). Young women in this age group are at the start of their sexual lives, experiencing issues of first relationships, marriage, pregnancy, and school 'drop-out', as

well as having little voice in STF programmes and other initiatives (Straight Talk Foundation Uganda 2005; Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). In the STF Strategic Plan 2006-2010 it is stated that, 'STF will intensify its work with girls who are currently unable due to cultural bias to make the same strides in protective behaviour as boys' (Straight Talk Foundation Uganda 2005:ix). This approach resonates with the concerns raised in relation to current HIV prevention paradigms in the framework discussed below. It is anticipated that outputs from the study will inform those agencies that work with young people for HIV prevention.

The field study was designed to address the research question: <u>How can young women, who experience multiple vulnerabilities in their lives, have a voice and what might the implications be for HIV prevention?</u>

The study was guided by the following research sub-questions:

1. What can we learn about the lives and voices of young women of Busoga and how does this contribute to the literature on a) young women's intimate lives and HIV prevention in Uganda; and b) qualitative research, specifically narrative methodologies, for exploring young women's voices?

2. Can narrative methods serve as tools for young women speaking about their lives and do they offer a means for them to talk about their experiences of oppression and resistance? What are the factors that hinder or facilitate use of narrative methods in relation to this study of young women's voices?

3. What do young women say about their lives? What can be learned about current HIV prevention from listening to what young women say? What are the ways forward for HIV prevention in light of what young women say?

To address the research questions I developed an exploratory, qualitative, methodology using arts-based approaches. I aimed to maximize opportunities for young women's voices through use of a safe, flexible and engaging space; ensuring that an appropriate place and sufficient time for the work was made available, within a beneficial physical environment (Mitchell, Moletsane et al. 2005). Furthermore, a mix of narrative methods (image, word and performance based) was used as this can be beneficial in offering a wide choice of expression for young women to depict and story their lives in different and multi-layered ways (Johnson, Ivan-Smith et al. 1998). What follows is a detailed account of the research process.

4.2 Conception of the Project

4.2.1 Developing a Qualitative Methodology

The research began with the problem set out above in the introduction, relating to young women's vulnerability and voicelessness and HIV prevention efforts. I first considered which qualitative methodologies might be best suited to young women of Busoga as the participants. Qualitative research literature suggests that the main traits required of a methodology inquiring about young women's intimate lives and voices in a context such as Uganda, must involve means for exploring situations of voiceless norms (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Cahill 2007; Kitzinger 2007; Lundy 2007). Yet, initial discussions with STF revealed that existing research and research tools in Uganda are lacking in terms of a study of young women's voices. Indeed there are indications that existing HIV prevention paradigms including in research, contribute to young women's voicelessness (see 4.2.3).

A review of journal articles was carried out with a view to informing the research design. This reveals a dominance of traditional, extractive methods in relevant qualitative research and a lack of research about young women's voices and agency. A multi-database search using the terms 'girls or young women', 'sex*' and 'Uganda' produced 155 references. Of the 155 references 14 journal articles referred to eliciting 'teenagers' or adolescents' views or

perceptions', young people's 'experiences', 'learning from adolescents'; with none specifically exploring 'young women's or young people's voices'. A further analysis of these articles revealed that the methods used were mainly those of interviews or group discussion, which limit opportunities for exploring voices; especially experiences of voicelessness, oppression and resistance, such as sexual violence or inter-generational/gender power relations (Kitzinger 2007; Blyth 2009). Thus, there is little evidence that studies in the Ugandan context provide useful experiences of qualitative research conducive to exploring young Basoga women's voices.

In recognizing the lack of appropriate qualitative research tools in the given context and in discussion with STF I suggested using a very different paradigm and method for the research. This should be based on a critical epistemology, different from existing positivist norms in HIV prevention research in Uganda. This would offer alternative means and spaces for young women to represent their experiences, particularly those relating to oppression and resistance. What emerged from this phase of the research was the choice of a narrative arts methodology; the literature supporting this approach is discussed in detail below in 4.2.2.

Given the very different paradigm and methodology to be used in the study a pre-field training exercise was conducted with STF researchers who were most familiar with survey and interview tools. This included a focus on the differences between critical and positivist methodologies, and use of narrative specifically, and what these might mean in relation to research involving young women of Busoga and exploring their lives and voices. This provided a necessary and important basis for undertaking the fieldwork.

4.2.2. Narrative Methodology, Young Women and HIV Prevention: the literature

A methodology which aims to explore young women's voices must be designed specifically with a view to enabling their representations to emerge and be articulated, and this requires providing appropriate tools and spaces for this to happen (Cahill 2007; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010). Also, there is a need for a suitably reflexive process of adult researchers listening to and interpreting what young women say (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995; Cahill 2007; Lundy 2007). An added challenge is actively recognizing and providing appropriate tools and spaces for those who are voiceless to speak (Lundy 2007; Blyth 2009). Further, there is a need to facilitate not only the voices of young women who are voiceless to speak about everyday experiences, but also to speak about difficult experiences of oppression and resistance; as this is a central concern in an agenda which is about lack of agency and inequalities (Cahill 2006; Kitzinger 2007).

Young women are more likely to embrace a method which enables their 'language' to emerge in the research (Hollway and Jefferson 2000; Kitzinger 2007). Also, such alternative and personal means of communication are more likely to allow for difficult experiences to surface. Diverse and alternative means of communication may well fall outside the conventional in research (Denzin and Lincoln 2000), which uses survey, interview or discussion instruments, with the language of the adult researcher as paramount. These do not easily allow space for participant's style or for flexibility in participant responses. Alternative means of self-expression might be stories or anecdote, the non-verbal and other forms (Johnson, Ivan-Smith et al. 1998; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010). These permit alternative styles and issues to emerge, and importantly, these can facilitate de-stabilizing or challenging norms.

Also, there is a need to provide opportunities for the complexity, contextuality and intersectionality of life experiences and vulnerabilities to come into view in such research; reflecting the complex nature of issues which need to be addressed (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Harding 2004; McCall 2005). Such issues typically include gender, culture and power, as well as age, and

intersections between these and the environment of poverty, with a need for appropriate spaces for these to be represented by young women.

Typically these qualities are not found in existing HIV prevention research (Auerbach 2009). Instead, methods are based on positivist science which takes a neutral stance on research; with the chosen paradigm taken as a given (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Yet, the position of neutrality is in fact a false one; instead HIV prevention research is based on disciplinary norms and the dominance of biomedicine amongst others (Inhorn and Whittle 2001; Filc 2004; Labonte and Polanyi 2005). This norm militates against research which highlights alternative, personal, social and power related paradigms of sexuality and agency in relation to young women (Steady 2003; Harcourt 2009).

Also, research paradigms in HIV prevention arise from a donor environment, which assumes neutrality whilst in fact often upholding (its own) powerful institutional agendas (Allen 2006; Cohen 2008; McEwan 2009). These militate against critical approaches which lead to complex outcomes of research from a range of voices and perspectives. The arguments here further concern issues of the marginalization of young women of Africa, indeed by the assumed neutrality of the research, their further marginalization, invisibility and voicelessness (Spivak 1988; Kabeer 1994; Steady 2003). HIV prevention paradigms are therefore particularly unsuited to exploring young women's voices and issues of agency, and as such they prevent young women's representations and viewpoints being part of policy and programmes.

Given these arguments, narrative methodology was chosen as an appropriate 'critical' fit for the study. Narrative can allow for young women's experiences to emerge and be articulated, facilitating young women's language and other means of communication. There is an emphasis on self expression in narrative, storying experiences in different styles. It enables counter narratives, such as experiences of dominance and subordination, to emerge as well as complexity and vulnerabilities in lives to emerge. Also, issues of gender, culture, power and the environment of poverty lend themselves to a narrative approach, given that these are complex and contextual as well as

difficult to talk about, with narrative devices offering subtle means to do this. A detailed discussion of the value of narrative methodology in relation to research with young Ugandan women is set out below.

There is a rich history of narrative tradition in many cultures, 'Narratives served for the production of cultural myths that solidified social structures, and provided common ways of understanding and explaining the world' (Nelson 2007:127). Through time and across cultures there have been many means of telling stories; poetry, song, dance, painting, performance amongst others. These use different languages in the telling. Indeed, it is argued that a primary function served by language in human society was to create narratives (Nelson 2007). In Africa, as elsewhere, traditions of narrative are culturally and historically bounded, often represented in collective and ethnically based stories (Ewu 2002). In addition to traditional narratives, modern narratives are influential today, such as, the immensely popular Nigerian TV soaps, viewed widely across Africa, as well as local TV and radio narratives. Also, western media and the bible are influential (Andrews, Day Sclater et al. 2007). Shared narratives circulate through society or within an identity group, promoting social cooperation and learning (Engdal 2005). Narratives are widely used in sexual health promotion to convey messages, such as AIDS dramas and stories, which can take the form of tragedies or morality tales (Andrews, Sclater et al. 2007).

Other narratives, those of individual experiences and counter narratives, can challenge dominant narratives, such as traditional collective stories, which may maintain power relations (Andrews, Day Sclater et al. 2007). The central point in relation to a critical agenda is that some stories are heard more than others; often depending on whether or not the storyteller has the means, language or power to be heard. For this reason narrative is well suited to a feminist agenda, for uncovering women's stories (such as those of young Uganda women), countering others that are more likely to be listened to (Leonard 2000).

Human desire and skill is apparent in story telling; the use of imagination and play is evident in expressing important ideas and feelings, including the ability

to imagine future possibilities and reflect on the past (Engdal 2005). Riessman (1993) views this as giving narrative an important place in social research as a means of studying people's experiences. These experiences are crucially placed by the storyteller in a particular social and cultural context (Garro and Mattingly 2000). Although, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) note that narrative cannot reproduce experience (nothing can), but what we are told about that experience can provide insight. This idea rests on a view that people interpret their own and other's experiences and represent them comfortably in the form of a story, told in their own way, making sense of their experiences and communicating effectively with others (Hollway and Jefferson 2000).

Riessman (1993) describes using narrative in research as not new, for instance it has been used in traditional ethnography. The difference in current trends in narrative is the shift to the subjective: the role of narrative researcher is increasingly seen as one of exploring different interpretations and interrogating the researcher's own position, and others, in that process of interpretation (Riessman 1993; Clandinin and Connelly 2000; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Boje 2002).

A further important theme in narrative research is that it offers a means for women to represent their lives. In feminist studies narratives offer a means of studying women's lives within complex and contextualized situations (Aptheker 1989; Chisholm 2008). Davis (2006) says 'we find meanings in our life stories by seeing our lives as coherent wholes' (Davis 2006:1222). Narrative provides a valuable lens through which to study women's everyday lives as whole in all their complexities. Also, crucially, narrative is valuable in relation to sexual health research as it allows for recognition that it is 'part and parcel' of women's lives, rather than being treated as something which is separate as is the case often in HIV prevention.

Feminist method has been very influential in the study because it focuses on issues of power and marginalization in relation to women (hooks 1990; Olesen 2000; Harding 2004; Kitzinger 2007). In research this has been described as the, 'reclaiming and validating of women's experience through

listening to women's voices' (Kitzinger 2007:125). Feminist scholars have been concerned about ways of legitimating and describing women's experiences, standpoint and situated knowledge (Harding 2004; Selgas 2004). Harding (2004) and others call for their voices in telling about their lives, rather than through externally-determined processes (Wylie 2004). Women's 'self-reports', such as oral histories and personal narratives, remain popular approaches to hearing what women say about their experiences.

Kitzinger (2007) notes that there are few opportunities in research for vulnerable women to voice their experiences and therefore it is appropriate to respect and report these with some faith to the original language and content. However, criticism is levied by both positivist and post-modern scholars of the notion of women's self reports in research. The former, including in HIV prevention research, assuming that there is a 'truth', which can best be uncovered by scientific method of observation or survey method. The latter undermines the claim about women as experts on their own experiences, viewing women's talk as cultural products (Olesen 2000; Inhorn and Whittle 2001; Kitzinger 2007). Both positions diminish women's voices. In this study my position as a feminist is one of respect for young Ugandan women's voices in the research, with the aim of bringing these to the fore.

In terms of a focus on young African women, there is a tendency for them to be silenced in research to an even greater extent than women more generally (Kurz and Prather 1995; Steady 2003). The feminist agenda here is about eliciting and exploring the voices of a group of young women in a particular geopolitical and cultural situation (that of Busoga) and a particular historical moment; also recognizing that the study group are not homogeneous, and celebrating and respecting their individuality (Mohanty 1991). Also, in relation to the complex nature of sexual health, an approach which focuses on young Ugandan women's lives and their stories seems highly appropriate.

Narrative devices can offer a method for expressing resistance or other challenges to power, for example through the mechanisms of character and events (Richardson 1998; Bochner 2001; Bochner and Ellis 2003). These devices, and others such as genre (comedy, tragedy, satire), lend themselves

well to an approach which aims to bring forth experiences and views on oppression and resistance, de-stabilizing norms through alternative representations, semi hidden signs, and subtle messages (Rose 2001; Bochner and Ellis 2003).

Of considerable relevance in this study, narrative in qualitative research is applied to various means of communicating experience including drawing and drama, and it is not dependent on written and spoken language (Pollock 1988; Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Ellis and Bochner (2003) argue that arts-based research offers important opportunities for dealing with sensitive and painful issues for participants (such as sexual health and lives), rather than abstracting issues and situations, and this can contribute to increasing 'outsider' awareness and understanding. In exposing power dynamics narrative method can highlight whether tales get told or ignored, who's say counts, who's views are elicited and listened too (Leonard 2000).

Criteria for judging narrative method is suggested to be, 'persuasiveness' and 'credibility', requiring descriptions of how interpretations are produced, making visible what was done, as well as involving researcher reflexivity (Denzin 1970; Riessman 1993). Whereas, reliability and validity more typically applied in HIV prevention research, are based on an assumed, relatively clear-cut truth(s) to be uncovered (Denzin 1970; Riessman 1993). Here I aim to be persuasive and credible showing an awareness of the subjective nature of young Ugandan women's representations, but also respecting their voices and viewpoints, acknowledging my role in interpretation and applying the findings to HIV prevention practice. I also add, as a means of judging the contribution of this study, the criteria of de-stabilizing norms and a means appropriate to situations of voicelessness (Kesby, Kindon et al. 2005; Kitzinger 2007).

Reflexivity, important here in relation to the quality of the research, aims to enable the researcher to acknowledge their role in constructing the objects of the study through their lens, acknowledging their own powerful voice in the research (Hertz 1997). Davies (2008) describes early ethnography as requiring the researcher to melt into the background; aiming for more of the

voice of the researched. A later trend, influenced by post-modernism, has the researcher highly present, self searching (Davies 2008). Here I aim to make a discursive contribution to young women's voices and HIV prevention through an informed interpretation and close reading of the data. In other words, I am not overly self-searching, but trying to be sensitive to issues of my power in the analysis (see 4.3 on researcher position). Reading the data does not take place in a vacuum, but draws on prior theory, my background in practice, and what I have found in the literature about the context of Busoga and issues of HIV/AIDS in Uganda.

Summing up in this section, I developed a narrative methodology for the study with the aim of providing a safe and flexible space for young Basoga women's voices. The method is imbued with difficulties because it is experimental in my professional field. I face the inherent difficulties of multi method and multi disciplinary research especially in combining arts and science paradigms, as this crosses different research audiences, languages, and scientific methods (Inhorn and Whittle 2001; Greckhamer, Koro-Ljungberg et al. 2008). Ultimately, the contribution to methodology is for the purposes of eliciting and exploring the voices of vulnerable young women, including in relation to that which is difficult to talk about (see 4.5 for reflection). In 4.4 the specific narrative methods are discussed in greater detail. Next is a discussion of the framework of analysis.

4.2.3 Current HIV Prevention Paradigms: a critical framework of analysis

Knights and Willmott (1999) describe a requirement for a 'framework of understanding' to explore the possible significance of narratives in critical management, avoiding an overly descriptive exercise. Earlier on in 2.3 I discussed the background to HIV prevention for young women in Uganda. Then, in 3.2 I presented a broad-based discussion of the literature concerning institutional barriers to young women's voices. To inform the analysis of the study data I have developed a critical framework which draws on the literature relating to current HIV prevention and reviews it in the light of young women's voices, looking forward to the findings in terms of the limitations to their agency.

To recap, responses to preventing HIV/AIDS over the last two decades in relation to young people in Uganda (and in other African countries with their own characteristics) have been schools based, within the broad view that education protects against HIV/AIDS risk (Stoneburner and Low-Beer 2004; WHO 2006; Uganda AIDS Commission 2007; Pettifor, Levandowski et al. 2008; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). Measures are widely based on the 'behaviour change communication' (BCC) format of ABC (Abstain, Be Faithful, use a Condom); which for young Ugandans has been translated into an emphasis on abstinence, little support and provision of condoms; and more recently 'life skills' training in schools (Boler and Aggleton 2005; Mabala 2006; Uganda AIDS Commission 2007; Bruce and Hallman 2008; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009).

Debates in the literature about HIV prevention in Uganda, reflecting wider debates globally, have focused on the role of different ABC strategies (that is, abstinence and monogamy, or the 'zero-grazing' message in Uganda, and condom use) in contributing to a marked decline in HIV/AIDS prevalence (Parkhurst 2002; Cohen 2003; Stoneburner and Low-Beer 2004; Stammers 2005; Allen 2006). Uganda is looked to as a model of success for a 'comprehensive' and open approach using ABC widely in communities (Singh, Darroch et al. 2003; Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004; Allen 2006; Murphy, Greene et al. 2006).

Heated debates about ABC have arisen from dominant voices globally; especially those of powerful US social conservatives, with the support of faith based institutions, who favour abstinence-only approaches. These have backed abstinence-only conditionality in PEPFAR (US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief), a major source of funding for HIV prevention (Cohen 2003; Stammers 2005; Murphy, Greene et al. 2006; Cohen 2008). Opposing them are the many and varied voices which are highly critical of such a focus, advocating alternative approaches including active support for condom access and use (Cohen 2003; Stammers 2005; Allen 2006; Murphy, Greene et al. 2006; Sussman 2006; Cohen 2008). What is noteworthy, no doubt linked to the overwhelming dominance of the ABC debate, has been the lack of alternative discourses, especially about young women and gender inequality, sexual rights and participation, and harmful societal norms and roles (Murphy, Greene et al. 2006; Dworkin and Erhardt 2007; Kalipeni, Oppong et al. 2007; Cornwall, Correa et al. 2008); yet these are fundamental concerns in relation to their vulnerabilities and sexual lives. Today Uganda's HIV/AIDS situation is described as 'mature and serious' with stalled prevalence rates which may well increase (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). As noted already there are serious worries about the risks for young women (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). Furthermore, there is a considerable and related agenda to meet in terms of gender empowerment, with special needs for young women (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002; IPPF 2006).

There has been some shift in approaches to HIV prevention targeting 'social structures and collective behaviours and practices that may shape sexual experiences' (Walakira 2010:56), through a variety of community based interventions. In fact, in the Ugandan context social networks are described as playing an important role in HIV prevention; with dissemination of messages through formal and informal networks in communities (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004; Parkhurst and Lush 2004). More recent trends involve 'multicomponent programmes'; which broaden out from ABC in schools and aim to, 'combine strategies to address simultaneously myriad individual and contextual factors that influence safe sexual behavior' (Karim, Williams et al. 2009:290). However, there are indications in Uganda as elsewhere of a

continuing emphasis on providing information as the major strategy; although this is widened out to other institutions, communities and with greater use of the mass media (Karim, Williams et al. 2009). This differs from empowerment models of community mobilization in HIV prevention, which aim to support local communities and organizations in exercising their agency to address issues of power, rather than narrowly targeted health goals (Wallerstein 1992; Campbell and Cornish 2010).

A central criticism of current HIV prevention paradigms is that they do little to address, and may indeed reinforce, young women's lack of sexual agency in the context of HIV/AIDS (Mabala 2006; Bruce and Hallman 2008). The critical framework here concerns: a) blueprint programmes which are overly medicalised and top down, as well as being much influenced by external forces, and which exclude the voices of young women (Allen 2006; Dworkin and Erhardt 2007); and b) lack of attention to creating receptive social environments, including a lack of programmes which address harmful assumptions, constructions and stereotyping of young women in society in any fundamental way (Reddy 2005; Dworkin and Erhardt 2007), resulting in limited and unsustainable benefits for young women.

There are many criticisms of ABC in relation to its basis in traditional health promotion. These concern the adherence to a model based on assumptions that individuals make rational choices to protect themselves against disease following on from information acquisition (Fishbein 2000; Shoveller and Johnson 2006; Mimiaga, Reisner et al. 2009). Shoveller and Johnson (2006) note that, as public health experts, 'we tend to rely on risk-factor epidemiology and traditional psychosocial models of health behaviour (e.g., Health Belief Model, Theories of Risk-Taking Behaviour and Social Cognitive Theory)', yet a major flaw in this is the 'unarticulated or unexamined assumptions about the level of agency and control that is afforded to many young people.' (Shoveller and Johnson 2006:48). Customary health promotion models have underpinned ABC in Africa, and despite the shift in policy and programmes reflecting a greater emphasis on addressing societal factors (WHO 2006), these underlying paradigms are still very influential for the reasons discussed

here in relation to powerful agency (Cohen 2003; Filc 2004; Cohen 2008; Harcourt 2009).

The indications are that many young women in the context of Uganda lack agency and this seriously limits their capacity for individual determination in relation to sexual behaviours. Whereas, the behaviours of significant others, such as parents, men and communities, are crucial to their agency, as well as adverse circumstances in the environment (Dworkin and Erhardt 2007; Kalipeni, Oppong et al. 2007; Neema, Moore et al. 2007). Therefore the emphasis on individual action and information acquisition in relation to vulnerable young Ugandan women is misleading and unlikely to address fundamental change (Dworkin and Erhardt 2007; Kalipeni, Oppong et al. 2007).

The academic underpinning of the framework is critical theory, which challenges academic norms (here medical paradigms) for contributing to marginalization by an assumed position of neutrality (Kabeer 1994; Crotty 1998). The critical concerns of relevance are of gender-based oppression in relation to young women of Busoga, yet medicalised HIV programmes and discourses preclude their voices and issues of agency so that their oppression goes unaddressed (Cornwall 2003; Steady 2003). Medical paradigms are problematic in relation to young women's situation because they are based on neutral or atheoretical custom leaving little place for challenging social and power norms (Inhorn and Whittle 2001). As positivist models they lack 'reflexivity' or self-awareness of their powerful position let alone the (neglected) voices of others (Kincheloe 2005). Such paradigms are reductionist and narrowly focused on a disease oriented model; as such they militate against complex approaches which do not offer easy solutions. Young women are typically perceived in terms of their medicalised bodies, their sexuality is seen as a means to reproduction and concerning sexual and reproductive health (Arnfred 2004; Tamale 2006; Harcourt 2009). Medicalisation of young women is part of a wider medicalizing process in society of health and the body, reflecting the power of the paradigm and obscuring key issues which need to be addressed (Filc 2004).

Tamale (2000) describes efforts to control Ugandan women's sexuality as externally driven, resulting from colonial and missionary efforts followed by the influence of HIV programmes. Musisi (1991) makes links also with historical and cultural influences on young Ugandan women's sexual lives and oppression. As a result of this context, control (of their sexuality and their bodies) is taken away from young women and put into the hands of experts and other powerful actors. They experience negative messages relating to sex and the body based on disease prevention; particularly pertinent in the case of HIV/AIDS because of the fear surrounding it. This situation contributes to disrupting the development of positive messages about the body, sexuality and sexual pleasure (Tamale 2006; Harcourt 2009).

The specific messages of ABC as discussed above are the focus of much debate.The emphasis on abstinence arises from powerful local and external forces, such as fath based and US influences (Cohen 2003; Allen 2006; Cohen 2008). As a result of the emphasis on abstinence there is resistance from influential external funders to supporting provision and promotion of condoms. However young women in Uganda often face circumstances where it is not possible to abstain from sex, the most extreme cases being those of sexual violence (Neema, Moore et al. 2007; Hayer 2010). Also, young women are not able to negotiate use of condoms, for instance within marriage, where use is based on male decisions (Parikh 2007). This is made worse in an environment where stigmatizing of young women having sex makes negotation in relation to using condoms very difficult (Swezey 2004; Parikh 2007). Also, there is the issue that abstinence denys the important role of sexuality in young women lives and wellbeing, promoting negative attitudes to sexuality (Tamale 2006; Harcourt 2009).

A feature of HIV prevention has been a high degree of standardization and programmes which are top down and expert driven, based on a donor model of provision of information and services (Halperin and Steiner 2004; Mabala 2006; WHO 2006). This no doubt contributes to easier programming and resource allocation, which in the postcolonial context of Africa is a particular feature of development culture (Sen and Grown 1986; Narayan, Patel et al.

2000). Yet, this limits places for alternative knowledge and voices to emerge, such as those of young women, and thus it is an important barrier to their participation.

Instead there are indications of the need for a diversity of approaches in HIV prevention in Uganda based on different contexts and complex problems within a variety of cultures. Situations vary significantly for young women, with some being more vulnerable than others. Differences relate to whether young women are in school or out of school; different stages of schooling; and young women have different needs from young men. Yet, youth HIV prevention programmes do not differentiate by gender; and by being subsumed into joint efforts young women are further silenced. Young women are less likely to be at school and therefore they miss out on school-based prevention programmes (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009).

As noted above, a key driver of standard ABC/BCC, especially 'Abstinence-Until-Marriage', has been and continues to be powerful external and internal forces (Cohen 2003; Murphy, Greene et al. 2006; Cohen 2008). These have been very influential in pursuing agendas which regulate young people's sexuality in line with their tenets; they have the resources to back up their agendas; and they can withhold vital funds if abstinence-only approaches are not prioritized. This is at odds with what is known about young Ugandan women's situation in terms of limitations on their sexual agency and gender inequalities in their lives. It is also at odds with other paradigms of sexual health, which see young women's sexuality and bodies as sites of their personal identity, rights and autonomy, and advocate support for young women's self determination and agency (WHO 2004; Diamond 2006).

Given these norms in HIV prevention of powerful forces and standard, expert driven programmes, young women's voices, knowledge and participation are not evident in HIV prevention. Young people in general are described as often lacking the 'vocabulary' in the broadest sense (language, confidence, permission) to participate in a meaningful way (Greene and Hill 2005). The significance of this is greater for young Basoga women who are, by virtue of

social norms, quiet in mixed groups with adults or young men (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007; UNICEF 2008). Where their voices are elicited and explored it is more likely to be by conventional means of dialogue and mixed gender groups. Yet, young women do not easily speak, that is they do not have the 'permission, language or confidence' to speak, in normative forum, and so are excluded from participation. Indeed, there are indications that young women of Busoga have played little part even in HIV peer education. Ugandan schools, as the site of adolescent HIV prevention, silence young women in a variety of ways; because of a lack of female teachers and school leaders in many contexts; school cultures and systems are often not female friendly; and sexual coercion in school is a problem (Sperandio 2000; Mirembe and Davies 2001).

Although the indications are that young women face a severe challenge in terms of voicelessness and current HIV prevention paradigms, it is also vital within an empowerment agenda to refrain from 'fixing' young women as irretrievably voiceless and vulnerable (Higgins, Hoffman et al. 2010). Instead, there is a need to move beyond this to considering them as potentially active agents in their lives making positive choices and having positive relationships with significant others. Higgins et al (2010) suggest that there is a danger that HIV prevention paradigms, in adopting community and societal initiatives as part of a protective paradigm, may fix young women as vulnerable.

A major concern about HIV prevention to date is that debates, discourses and programmes have neglected crucial societal issues in relation to young women's vulnerability. Initially in HIV prevention there was the dominance of individual and peer approaches (Karim, Williams et al. 2009; Campbell and Cornish 2010; Walakira 2010). Latterly, there has been acknowledgment of the role of society and actions are increasingly designed to tackle wider societal change through collective approaches (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004; Karim, Williams et al. 2009; Campbell and Cornish 2010; Walakira 2010).

In Uganda, and other contexts in Africa, there is increasing concern for gendered power relations, addressing sexual violence and other negative

sexual norms in the society, such as early marriage and older partners (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). These are difficult and challenging matters not easily lending themselves to change, not least made difficult by the formidable barriers to gender equality faced by young women. Therefore, such a shift to community interventions is a welcome development for sustained and fundamental change.

But there are dangers already apparent in this shift. Community initiatives are a notoriously difficult means, not least because they are tackling complex processes but also because initiatives are often small scale or local, and therefore lack sufficient power to make change (Campbell and Cornish 2010; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010). Donors may support similarly top down social interventions with an emphasis on information based activities, which are as non critical and non reflexive as existing programmes, militating against empowerment paradigms and 'bottom up' approaches (Wallerstein 1992; Kesby 2005; Karim, Williams et al. 2009; Kelly and Birdsall 2010). Young women's voices are still largely absent from new community initiatives, their representations especially of resistance and oppression, are not easily exposed through these processes, including issues of their voicelessness within communities (Walakira 2010). Clearly there is much that needs to be done to move towards an agenda which might offer real opportunities to further young women's agency. A new dimension in HIV prevention focusing on social contexts is discussed later in 8.4.

4.3 Position of the Researcher

My place in the study is as a development practitioner as well as a researcher, working for a long period with an international NGO before becoming an academic. I am an 'outsider' to Ugandan society, a *mzungu* or foreigner, yet I have a history of working and living in Uganda. I first worked in Uganda as a young woman in the 1980s; my first 'proper job'. It was the site of important early relationships with Ugandans and foreigners, sharing difficult times during the Obote-Museveni War. This was at the start of HIV/AIDS in Uganda and it was a difficult time for us as development workers, both outsiders and Ugandans, and as young adults we were suddenly very fearful of our sexual relationships.

I returned to Uganda as a development practitioner working in health systems in the late 1990s and saw the considerable change that had taken place with the advent of peaceful times, as well as the devastation inflicted by HIV/AIDS with many old friends affected by the epidemic. Now when I visit Uganda it is in some ways a very different place, yet with much that seems familiar. I am considered by Ugandan standards an 'Old Ma'; still an outsider, but with a recognized link to the country's past.

My experiences as a researcher before this study were mainly those of positivist health systems research (Holland, Phimphachanh et al. 1995; Conn, Jenkins et al. 1996; Conn and Wolford 1998). I have over time, however, been drawn to more critical approaches because of a frustration with narrow health and management paradigms. Influential ideas have been those of alternative health models; such as people's participation in their own health, and a sense of empowered, heterogeneous and contextualized communities; also critical management (Freire 1972; Newell 1975; Illich 1976; Werner 1979; Chambers 1983; Oakley 1989; Wallerstein 1992; Rifkin 1996; Knights and Willmott 1999; Wallerstein 1999).

With a growing interest in the health of young people, this thesis is significantly influenced by critical and inter-disciplinary studies. For instance, I have been much influenced by arts based means for undertaking critical

research, drawing inspiration from critical scholars in the taught papers undertaken during my doctoral studies, and in recent publications relating to this study (hooks 1990; Leonard 2000; Bochner 2001; Cahill 2006; Conn and Waite 2010; Waite and Conn 2010). For instance, Leonard's (2000) ideas have been valuable in introducing me to the use of critical narrative within public health and development in relation to young women's voices. In her study of young female circumcision in Chad she uses a critical, narrative method to un-cover different 'tales': the official development tale of female circumcision; the elders', the researcher's and the young women's tales. By explicitly presenting the different accounts as narratives, she successfully highlights their viewpoints and knowledge *vis a vis* others, offering counter-narratives which challenge or de-stabilize the master narrative (Van Maanen 1988; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Andrews, Sclater et al. 2007).

These ideas, although challenging to relate to practice, have underpinned this thesis in terms of theory and the study design as described above. In the fieldwork, my position as researcher was that of partner to the STF team and designer of the research; and as a powerful adult-outsider in relation to the participants, but with some insider status in terms of my experiences (Chambers 1994). I am conscious of the tension between my position as a feminist and critical public health scholar, and my powerful position in relation to young women of Uganda and others (Standing 1998). I had worked with young women in the clinic setting, using interview method and with the pressure imposed by project deadlines, but the experience here was quite different and most positive. I now describe the fieldwork in some detail.

4.4 In the Field

4.4.1 Selection of participants

Apart from age, a main selection criterion for the study was that all young women were school attendees. This was based on the decision to conduct the research in English, the common language to all in the research. English is the language of education in Uganda, and therefore school attendees are able to write and speak English. However, it was anticipated (correctly as it turned out) that participants would be at different levels in terms of English language proficiency given that school years are often repeated with young women of similar age attending primary and secondary school (see Table 3, Participant Details).

The research team consisted of two Leeds University researchers, a STF researcher from Kampala, and two Lusoga-speaking field researchers. The team was all-female, although that was not intentional. Whilst some of the group had experience of qualitative research, the particular emphasis on arts-based methods was new for all. Training in qualitative, narrative methods was an element of the preparation and planning phase of the study which took place over the period October 2006 until the field research in March 2007.

It was decided to conduct the research in the community during the school vacation. The plan for data collection was to conduct a one-week workshop with participants and researchers working together using a mix of methods. The decision to do the research in the vacation and over an intensive time period was based on recognizing that the pressures of school and home-working during term time would make it difficult to have sufficient time and an appropriate space for the intended approach. Arts-based methods require extra time and space for creative thinking and execution (Mitchell, Moletsane et al. 2005; Reason and Bradbury 2006).

A rural or semi-rural location in Busoga was considered as representative of young Basoga women's lives. Permission was given by the Chief Administrator, Jinja District, to work in semi-rural Budondo Sub-county. In discussion with him a small trading centre was chosen 30 minutes drive along

a murram road from Jinja town, by the Nile River. The community in this area is a mix of farmers, small traders, with some working in Jinja and Kampala (Ssekiboobo and Nsubuga 2003).

On arrival the team was assisted by two local government representatives, Local Councillors (LCs). They provided a list of the families in the ward who resided within walking distance of the trading centre, having a daughter or daughters in the family age 15-19 years (about 100 families). We selected 20 households to visit, choosing every fifth household on the list. The research team divided into two groups, accompanied by the LC's, and visited the selected households. The teams discussed the research with parents or guardians and their daughters. The discussions took place in Lusoga language. Parents and guardians were provided with a consent form in English and Lusoga (see Appendix, Parents' Consent Form). This requested permission to work with daughters, especially in relation to using visual materials. These also explained the nature and purpose of the study. In a number of cases daughters signed on behalf of parents or guardians who were not literate. Generally the study was well received by parents and guardians, which may be a reflection of STF's good reputation in HIV prevention with young people.

The research team had aimed for about 15-20 young women to form the group, as a manageable number working together in one space. One father said his daughters were too busy working in the *shamba* to join the research; some daughters were away for the vacation; and others mentioned friends who would be interested. After the selection process a number of young women, with the consent of their parents, had agreed to join the exercise (see Table 3, Participant Details). There were 3 groups of sisters amongst the 15 young women because given large family sizes it is common to have same sex children within a few years of each other. One participant, Stella, was 13 years old and therefore outside the age criterion. She attended instead of her older sister who had not returned from a visit. Given her obvious pleasure on joining the group it was felt to be unethical to exclude her on the basis of her age.

The LCs provided an excellent venue for the workshop, that of the local council meeting room, which was large, light and pleasant. It was agreed with the young women that they would arrive at 9.30am each day which gave them time to do their morning chores and wash and dress for the workshop. Breakfast and lunch was provided for all so that everyone was able to work comfortably together.

At the start of the week the participants were understandably shy, and indeed it was very difficult to generate any talk. So, there was an initial challenge of creating a comfortable working atmosphere for all. The Lusoga-speaking researchers conducted 'warm up' exercises to help this process along. As the week progressed some young women gained in confidence and became more vocal. Different personalities emerged in the group, but also there were differences based on levels of English language ability and age, with the older participants tending to be more self-assured. A presentation was made to parents on the final day, and some participants inter-acted with the parents showing them the dramas on the laptop.

Table 2: Participant Details[8]

Name	Age	School	Class	Boarding or Day	Religion
1. Anna (sister of Prisca)	17	Mukono Parents High School, Mukono District	S3[9]	B	Catholic
2. Diana	18	Jinja Secondary School, Jinja District	S5	B	Protestant
3. Sandra (sister of Teresa)	15	Trinity College Buwagi, Jinja District	S2	D	Catholic
4. Dorothy	15	St Florence Secondary School Bugembe, Jinja District	S3	D	Protestant
5. Fauza	15	Secondary School Kampala	S1	B	Muslim
6. Teresa	16	Trinity College Buwagi, Jinja District	S4	D	Born Again
7. Sara	15	Kasana Town Academy, Luwero District	S1	B	Muslim
8. Prisca	18	St Stephens Secondary School (awaiting exam results)	S5	D	Christian
9. Harriet	17	Kamuli Girls High (awaiting exam results)	S5	B	Christian
10. Bena	15	Buyala Primary School, Jinja District	P6[10]	D	Christian
11. Stella	13	Budondo Primary, Jinja District	P7	D	Christian
12. Frances	18	Mbarara teacher training, Mbarara District	Fin S6	B	Christian
13. Grace (sister of Jessica)	18	Trinity College Buwagi, Jinja District	S4	D	Christian
14. Jessica	15	Buyala Primary School, Jinja District	P7	D	Christian
15. Susan	18	St Stephens Secondary School, Jinja District	S4	D	Christian

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[8] Participant names have been changed.

[9] S means Senior or Secondary level.

[10] P means Primary level.

Table 3: Research Workshop

Day	Method	Group or Individual	Data
One	Video Training	Whole group activity	
	Drawings	Small groups & then individually	
Two	Finishing off the Drawings	All individual activities	13 Sets / 69 images
	Stories		15
	Aspirational writing		15
Three	Dramas - deciding on the theme, groups planning and practicing; performing and viewing on the laptop	Small groups	3 each about 10 minutes
Four	Presentation to Parents; Follow up interviews; Diaries handed out at the end		15 handed out, and 2 collected

4.4.2 The research workshop and methods

Based on the methodology described above, I used a mix of methods to elicit stories of the lives of young women of Busoga as the basis for the empirical study. The methods were chosen to offer a safe and flexible space for young women's voices, encouraging them to 'speak' within the research process; methods including images, words, and performance (Johnson, Ivan-Smith et al. 1998; Mitchell, Moletsane et al. 2005). These methods were intended to provide a space for young women to participate where they were not necessarily required to 'speak out' publically or to an adult researcher, but could work individually and in a small group with other young women.

Also methods were chosen for their auto-biographical value, given that 'auto-biography' enables adhering as closely as possible to young women's own perspectives on their lives (Bagnoli 2004). It was anticipated that the chosen methods would be participant-centred, well accepted and accessible to the young women, and preferably fun to do (Johnson, Ivan-Smith et al. 1998). Also, it was envisaged that they could be applied relatively easily in the study, but also with a view to their applicability to HIV prevention in the environment of schools and health programmes (Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010). Based on these principles the final decision involved offering the following mix of methods: video drama, written stories and aspirational writing, diary keeping and drawing.

The workshop began with an introduction to the young women about the purpose of the study, and a request for their consent (See Appendix, Participants' Consent Form). On day one the activities started with video training, which was fun and interactive. Initially participants were very nervous, but they soon appeared to enjoy using the cameras, filming each other with great hilarity, and looking at the often entertaining results (Lunch and Lunch 2006).

Drawing

The video practice sessions were followed by the drawing exercise. Participants were given large sheets of paper and coloured pens and shown

an example of a 'storyboard' method of drawing lives. This method is adapted from Rubenson et al (2005); they used 'storyboard' as a means for young women sex workers in Vietnam to represent their lives. The method involves depicting a life narrative in the form of a series of images with written captions (see Figure 3 below which illustrates the method).

The drawing brief in the workshop was to; <u>Draw the life of a girl in Busoga and the challenges she faces</u>. This brief was deliberately open-ended to allow maximum flexibility of expression for participants. Participants were asked to do this initially in small groups. However, it became apparent that older girls were doing the drawing with younger ones watching. A change of plan led to all individuals being given paper so that everyone could draw; although two participants chose to work together. Most of the participants used the storyboard method, except one participant who chose to produce a single drawing which was a 'rich picture' of her home. The end result of the drawing exercise was 12 sets of storyboard drawings, 1 individual drawing, and 69 images in total (see Table 4).

Visual method, in a context like that of this study, has been described as an 'enabling methodology' (Gauntlett and Holzwarth 2006:82) in that it creates opportunities for expression, self exploration, and communication. The potential to be strongly creative in using the method and a lack of requirement to use words is of critical importance in enabling expression. In the context of this study drawing is considered a valuable method as it is not dependent on skills or preference in English language writing (Johnson, Ivan-Smith et al. 1998). In Rubenson et al (2005) participants describe the life narrative method as positive and confidence building, with one participant stating, 'I felt released after having told you my whole life story' (Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005:393). From a feminist perspective images are viewed as providing an opportunity to represent issues of power and layers of meaning about gender and other concerns that women might have, and therefore as an effective means of reflecting women's standpoint (Pollock 1988; Wylie 2004). In the storyboard method here the narrative takes the form of the drawings with the written captions alongside (Diem-Wille 2001).

In HIV prevention images can offer alternative sources of knowledge and viewpoints, as well as an important means for voices to emerge. Participants of visual research may find this an accessible means of bringing forth issues that are difficult for them to speak about using words, such as sexual matters. However, Banks (2001) notes that images are often not taken seriously in research, and this poses a challenge for the researcher, one that may be a particular issue in health-related research.

Figure 3: Dorothy's storyboard of drawings created during the workshop

Stories

Day two started with participants finishing off their drawings. Most had put a great deal of time and effort into their work and were keen to complete them. This was followed by the next major activity which was writing stories. The brief for the stories was similar to that of the drawings: Write a story about a girl of Busoga. It was suggested that participants could write their own or

someone else's story. I noted in my field diary at the time that, 'All of them [the participants] chose to write in the third person – yet somehow the stories seem very personal'. Stories are the quintessential narrative method giving a high degree of control for 'narrative creation' to young women and therefore they can be a powerful means for participants' voices to emerge (Hollway and Jefferson 2000; Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005). Written stories here serve as a flexible and engaging means of expression, and as a valuable means of storying young women's lives. Furthermore, it can be a means of raising difficult issues and concerns (Bochner 2001; Elliott 2005; Davis 2006).

All the young women wrote their stories with great concentration. The stories varied considerably in length and style, although there were common themes. There appeared to be some issues of accessibility of the method depending on levels of English and writing skills. However, it was perhaps noteworthy that all the participants knew how to write a narrative, with minimal guidance from the research team. They were aware of narrative convention, in terms of character, plot and temporality, and the research outcomes showed a sophisticated use of narrative devices. This perhaps indicates that narrative is a very widely applicable method in different cultural settings.

Aspirations

The final activity of day two of the workshop was aspirational writing. The participants were asked, What are your dreams for the future? And what are the barriers to achieving those dreams? Young women in developing settings are rarely asked about their life aspirations and desires for their future (Mathur 2001). Yet, it is argued that there is a benefit in focusing on what young women want for their lives, including in relation to HIV prevention: 'The importance to be innovative and experimental and involve young women and adolescent girls in imagining their futures, futures that are more hopeful and more self-directed, cannot be over-emphasized' (Urdang 2007:1). Also, Mathur (2001), in her study of Nepali young women's aspirations, argues persuasively for a focus on positive aspirations rather than only on problems

and difficulties as a good means of engaging young women: 'To the girls, adolescence is not just a period of problems and risks, but one where dreams about education, careers, loving marriages and successful family life are shaped' (Mathur 2001:94). Given that aspirations are very personal and individual, I chose aspirational writing for this positive potential as a kind of life narrative, looking forwards rather than looking into the past or at the present. Aspirations enable young women to reflect on how they want their lives to unfold (Mathur 2001; Urdang 2007).

Aspirational work would seem to lend itself to HIV prevention, given the concern with supporting young women in finding positive pathways for sexual health. It fits with an agenda which is about supporting young women making sexual choice which will influence their future lives. Again, as with the stories and drawings, all the participants wrote with great concentration and produced their personal aspirations in a variety of styles and subjects.

Dramas

On Day Three the research team drew up a list of themes emerging from the drawings and stories as possible subjects for drama. The group of 15 participants was divided into 3 small groups; a manageable number for the purposes of drama planning and execution given that there were two video cameras. However, the participant groups decided that they did not want to pick a theme from the list. Instead they wanted to integrate the themes into one composition: A story of a young woman of Busoga. The drama activity involved lots of discussion by the three groups of young women, independent of the researchers. It involved performance planning and practice, filming and then watching, with evident amusement and entertainment. Video training provided the entry to this method getting participants used to speaking in front of others and the camera (Lunch and Lunch 2006). The participants worked with the cameras interviewing each other and they watched the results of their interviews with apparent enjoyment. This served to create a 'comfortable' space for the dramas to take place.

There are a number of traditions in using a drama method which are applicable here. There are strong traditions of indigenous African theatre, which include live performance and music (Ewu 2002). There is a considerable body of work by educationalists, dating from the 60s and 70s, using drama for social activism and conscientizing of participants, performers and audience (Boals 1979). More recently there is the growing use of drama in development, variously labeled as 'Applied Theatre', and 'Theatre for Development' amongst other terms (Ewu 2002). Although drama, especially with NGO involvement, is on the increase it tends to be a fringe activity with limited influence on mainstream policy and practice (Ewu 2002). This may partly relate to the challenge of arts-based methods in general not being taken seriously where a science paradigm dominates (Banks 2001), as is the case in development. There are examples of programmes using drama to explore counter narratives through performance as a means of challenging negative social and sexual norms, but these are often small scale (Kafewo 2008; Cahill 2010).

The drama method in the study served as a different means of narrative telling from the written methods. It relies on body and voice to portray character and events, and it is a group as opposed to an individual activity. As an oral rather than a written method it may be more accessible to some participants. But it does require confidence to be able to perform in front of others. Young women seemed relatively comfortable with this type of communication, and as with the story writing, there seemed to be great familiarity with the idea of drama. Young women demonstrated a strong understanding of the relationship between the actors and the audience, with skilled use of devices, such as humour or pathos to make dramatic points in the telling. However, some performers were more confident than others, and the groups were reluctant to perform in front of each other, although they were happy for the adult research team to be the audience. This may reflect concern for peer criticism.

Diaries

Diaries were handed out at the end of the workshop. Young women were invited to write in their diaries after the workshop whenever they wished and on any subject. We asked for permission to look at the diaries on a follow up visit, and copy them, but that they could keep the diaries afterwards.

Elliot (1997) notes that diaries have been used for some time in social research as an auto-biographical method. I adopted diaries here because of their auto-biographical nature, as another means for young women to speak about their lives. Diaries as auto-biography are very effective at documenting life, providing a 'self revealing' record of ordinary lives (Elliot 1997). The element of the ordinary and of recording women's lives means that diaries are a valuable method from a feminist perspective as they can investigate what is normally neglected in social research (Aptheker 1989; Elliot 1997; Kitzinger 2007). In health research diaries have been used in a different way, as a scientific tool which are then coded and analyzed for the record of illness behaviour.

Within the frame of this research the diary method offers another form of expression, although diary writing depends on personal preference (as with the other arts-based methods) (Bagnoli 2004). Thus the diaries, used within a multi method approach, offered more choice to the research participants (Bagnoli 2004).

On the final day of the fieldwork brief interviews were conducted to get contact addresses for participants and schools. However, a number of participants did not know where they would be in the school term. At this point the scattered nature of schools, across a number of districts, and the uncertainty of destinations became even more apparent and it was clear that follow up of participants was going to be a particular challenge. This depended on exam results, availability of school fees, and other circumstances. Later, after the fieldwork, a third of the group were traced to local schools; one person had returned to teacher training college in Western

Uganda; others had travelled to other districts for school; and one participant was thought to have gone to a job in Kampala.

Reflecting back on the week of activities, a number of points emerge. The research team, being all female, may have contributed to a comfortable atmosphere in terms of gender. Although, there were undoubtedly issues of power, participants seemed curious and interested in us as outsiders and STF researchers, rather than overwhelmed. The atmosphere of the workshop certainly seemed to be one of enjoyment and entertainment for all involved, which is in keeping with a qualitative method which aims to provide safe space for young women's voices (Johnson, Ivan-Smith et al. 1998). Consideration of ethics in the research, and the data analysis are discussed next.

Figure 4: Viewing the Dramas

Figure 5: Planning the Dramas

4.4.3 Ethics

The formal ethics process involved obtaining informed consent from young women's parents and guardians as discussed above (see Appendix, Parents' Consent Form). Information about the project was given at the start of the project and, as a separate activity, young women were informed about the project and their consent was sought at the start of the workshop. This research project resides within a larger research programme, COMDIS, for which there was a joint ethics agreement between UK and Ugandan partners.

Although informed consent fulfilled the formal ethics requirements in social research (ESRC (UK)), there are some important issues of ethics which pertain in this case. These relate to research with young women and the location in the development setting and as an HIV/AIDS research (Sultana 2007). For instance, it seemed appropriate to respect and adapt to local ways, such as giving a verbal presentation to parents at the end of the

research, so that they could ask questions about the activities and have a better understanding of what was involved. Some parents expressed the view that they thought that the project was beneficial to their daughters as an educational activity.

Also, I was concerned at the start that as young women are used to submitting to the authority of adults they would not feel able to pull out of the research if they wished to do so (Sultana 2007). This seemed to be an unavoidable situation, and as a counter to this there was the provision of a relatively safe and comfortable space for working, an element of choice in the methods used, allowing for personal styles and expression to emerge, yet not asking for specific personal experiences of sexual lives.

In terms of the issue of working with young women in relation to HIV/AIDS a focus of the research on lives would hopefully not only make it a more interesting and positive experience for them (Mathur 2001; Urdang 2007), but would reduce the likelihood of them feeling obliged to disclose painful and difficult personal information about their sexual experiences. Reeves (2007) notes that the advantage in ethical terms of narrative is that it can give vulnerable research participants greater control, 'by enabling them to frame an issue or event in their own way, rather than through a structure imposed by the researcher' (Reeves 2007:263) . But she suggests that there is a tension between this and narrative method encouraging participants to talk in depth about personal issues. Indeed, this proved to be an issue given that some narratives appeared to be very personal accounts.

4.4.4 Data Analysis

Given the narrative direction of the methods, I adopted narrative analysis for this study, which involved a 'close reading' of data paying attention to what is said (content), and how it is said (form) (Denzin 1970; Mauthner and Doucet 1998; Leonard 2000; Rose 2001).

> *'By paying attention, not only to what is said but also how things are said, narrative analysis aims to reach beyond the contents of the story'* (Hok and Wachtler 2007 :1644).

Close reading for content and form involves considering what is prominent as well as what is 'hidden', although there is the challenge of deciding what is hidden. Unusual data and contradictions or tensions are also important. In narrative analysis images and words can be considered together using a similar approach.

Involving principles of close reading for content and form, and using the critical framework of current HIV prevention and young women's voices presented in 4.2.3, I analyzed the data following these steps:

First, I explored the data by **theme;** I transcribed the stories (15), aspirations (15), dramas (3) and diaries (2); and photographed individual drawings (69), putting these into word documents. I analyzed the content of each method by a crude 'counting' and listing of repeated content themes across the methods (Banks 2001; Rose 2001).

Then, I analyzed the datasets by **method;** looking at the drawings, stories, aspirations, dramas and diaries, in terms of 'how' themes were depicted; the different types of narrative; plots and characters; language and voices; issues of style and representation. I also looked for 'signs' and the hidden, and layers of meaning (Rose 2001; T. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001). Disparate methods were valuable in offering 'choice' to young women in terms of representation, and extending the possibilities for them speaking and being heard, but they posed a particularly difficult challenge when it came to analysis. The close reading for content and form and the framework of young women's voices and HIV prevention was the means of selecting and creating coherence across methods. The analysis of content and form is necessarily not comprehensive but highly selective, based on what seems important in relation to the research question.

A further stage involved looking at the data by **participant,** considering the different voices of participants, comparing and exploring each of their datasets (15). Differences between how participants treated the methods were considered; for instance participants with more school years tended to write longer stories and were more confident in English. Differences in

outputs were not only evident by age, and language skill, but also by personality, with some participants appearing more vocal and confident than others. Participants had different preferences in expression; some used imagery through words to express themselves; others expressed themselves more through images; and some expressed strong opinions. An analysis of the participants' styles highlighted issues of multiple voices in the study.

The main content themes that emerged from the data analysis were: working at home, rape, kneeling to elders, school and future lives, also people and relationships in young women's lives, such as, parents and friends. Sexual violence was a significant theme featuring especially in the stories. This is not surprising given that the research exercise was conducted with STF, who are associated with sexual health messages and HIV prevention; although the scale and power of these narratives was astounding. Also, given that the brief given to the young women included the challenges they face in their lives. The content themes form the structure of the data chapters. The main method themes that emerged were: different types of narratives (for example, narratives of rape), different types of young women's voices (resistant, assertive, muted), different voices (daughters and parents), and the effect of different methods in the research (drawing compared to stories for instance). Method themes are discussed alongside content themes in the data chapters.

4.5 Reflections on the Research Process and Methodological Contribution of the Study

Young women of Busoga are described as not speaking within the normative spaces of group discussion, interview, and dialogue and this proved to be the case initially in the fieldwork. The alternative means used here seemed effective in eliciting speaking, but the resulting research materials were not easy to interpret. The contribution of the study to qualitative research literature is that of demonstrating the value and role of alternative methods, such as narrative, for research with young women within voiceless norms.

There are indications that such methods are also valuable for alternative programmes to build young women's voices.

The contribution to methodological literature, specifically narrative methods, is that these can serve as tools for young women speaking because they offer safe spaces for different representations and alternative realities, including those of voicelessness and resistance (Kesby, Kindon et al. 2005; Andrews, Sclater et al. 2007). The study highlights and develops the argument that appropriate qualitative research relating to the study of young women's voices must be underpinned by alternative epistemologies which are less positivist/more critical if they are to explore issues of resistance and oppression.

Positivist norms in HIV prevention hinder the use of narrative and other methods by not providing a paradigmatic space let alone a methodological one. This means that it is it difficult to promote expert understandings and skills concerning these methods, and their value to HIV prevention (Mannion 2010). There are shifts in HIV prevention which may facilitate use of such methods; with greater recognition of the role of wider contextual change, including issues of power, and some successful experiments in empowerment to draw on (Cahill 2006; Cahill 2007; Kafewo 2008; Cahill 2010).

Narratives in the research proved valuable in coming closer to a sense of young women's lives, and as a means of exploring complexity, and the intersection of positions, as well as relationships and situations from their perspectives. Narrative offered a space for emotions to play out, such as fear of HIV, frustration and anger with parents. It also depicted issues of power relations in young women's lives, including relations with parents, and although these were more hidden, with men.

The mix of methods was valuable in providing a richer body of data, and an opportunity to consider how young women might have a voice in further research and practice. The drawing method provided a valuable visual 'lens' for young women to portray their everyday experiences and daily tasks, and the drawings give a strong sense of the place of home in young women's

lives (Pollock 1988; Aptheker 1989; Harding 2004). Drawing, with the valuable addition of captions, also enabled young women to go beyond depicting daily lives to bringing forth complex issues such as cultural and gendered norms, issues of subordination and dominance, and symbols of school and work. Visual devices, such as symbolism, detail, and repetition, were valuable in enabling the themes and issues to surface (Rose 2001; T. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001). Differences in style and execution by different participants also allowed for individual expression (Banks 2001; Cross, Kabel et al. 2006). Also, drawings seemed accessible to the participants as a method which does not require writing and English skills.

The 'stories' drew attention to some difficult issues in young women's lives. They were a particularly rich source on the issue of sexual violence and personal tragedy. These may have been influenced by collective narratives about HIV which circulate in Ugandan society (Andrews, Day Sclater et al. 2007). Narratives worked in the study as a permissible 'talk' about difficult matters, without necessarily requiring individuals to openly disclose painful personal experiences or to have the confidence to speak out in front of (powerful) others. Although there is the inevitable concern that participants may have found the experience of telling stories personally difficult as well (Reeves 2007). Also, there is the likelihood that such talk would not occur easily in other spaces, for instance in collaboration with young men.

The aspirations method has not been widely used in the development setting (Urdang 2007). Here it served the function of enabling young women to go beyond talk of daily lives, to reflecting on their future lives with participants describing their hopes and desires. Aspirations were considered as particularly relevant to a feminist method concerning young women's wider life choices as well as a means for positive self reflection looking forwards (Mathur 2001). But, again the evidence of some of the aspirations was that young women have great fears for the future and it may have been a difficult experience for them exploring these in the space of the research (Reeves 2007).

Drama, as a narrative lens, is different again in that it concerns the attributes of performance and it is a group method (Etherton and Prentki 2006). Planning and performing the dramas required collaborative working in small groups. Drama involved working in an embodied space with physicality important in relation to the place of voice and body, as well as the scope for spoken voices to emerge. Drama enabled young women to depict relationships and interactions in their lives. It also enabled them to 'step outside' their own roles and constructions, adopting those of others, including powerful others. In doing so they illustrated the power of the drama method, as a performance means of expression, one that can allow the performers to speak in different voices. The dramas allowed the participants to represent their realities and in doing so they both reinforce and /or de-stabilize social norms providing a valuable sense of ambiguity coming close to the complexities of real lives (Dalrymple 2006; Etherton and Prentki 2006; Kafewo 2008). The space of the research seemed a relatively safe one for young women's drama, given that it was single gender and small group based, and this may partially explain the openness and expressiveness of the performances.

The diary method was not conducted in the space of the research workshop, and only two diaries were available at the end of the fieldwork period. Yet, these diaries provided a rich and detailed source of knowledge and means for the diarists' voices. The diaries proved valuable in using a highly personalized autobiographical lens; in doing so they highlight the multiplicity and realities of young women's lives in the context. This method offers a rich means for young women's self-reflections in a context where there are very few such individual possibilities (Steady 2003; Kitzinger 2007).

The study was conducted in the space of the local council meeting room with young women participants and the adult female research team working well together; although there were inevitably big differences in age, background, and ethnicity. Immersion in the fieldwork, with the group working and eating together, seemed to help in building relationships and creating a comfortable environment. Further research of this kind, which involves eliciting (and

building) voices, requires safe spaces; and this is inevitably a major concern where the reality is of spaces and situations that are not conducive to young women's voices. The requirements of the space included having sufficient time for the work, not being interrupted, and having opportunity to concentrate (Gauntlett and Holzwarth 2006), as well as privacy from powerful others. It should be noted that, unlike interview or focus group methods, the young women for most of the time worked by themselves or in groups, with relatively little input from adult researchers.

The nature and power of narrative is that it allows the reader to enter and participate in the story (Hollway and Jefferson 2000; Davis 2006). I found myself doing this as reader, yet as a researcher the data provided a considerable challenge for interpretation. I needed to develop new skills in arts-based analysis with an emphasis on the role of 'form' as well as 'content' to uncover and explore layers of meaning (Hok and Wachtler 2007). The more I developed a 'good eye' in relation to the images (Rose 2001), and in close reading of the narratives, the more I found myself very involved in young women's representations (Standing 1998; Cross, Kabel et al. 2006). I developed a growing appreciation for young women as artists, storytellers and dramatists. This shifted my perceptions of them as silent to viewing them as speakers and as co-creators in the research. The shift in my perception of young women, the skills I developed and how the experience shaped me seems to be a particular benefit of the method, and an important finding of the research. Developing adult skills and knowledge, adult transformation, is a vitally important element in listening to young women (Standing 1998; Leonard 2000; Mannion 2010).

The study also demonstrated the role of context in the research. I had studied the context of the study and this, alongside the realities represented by the young women deepened my understandings of issues of their voices and lives and what this might mean for HIV prevention. A deeper understanding of the context therefore seems essential for those involved in developing spaces for young women's voices in such research. For instance, the study showed that it is the societal and HIV prevention context, including the expectations of

how young Basoga women should behave, which shapes lack of opportunities for their voices and limitations to their sexual agency.

The study indicated a potential for young women to take on new roles in HIV prevention research, such as that of co-researcher or co-producer, to a much greater extent than was found in this study, or indeed in other studies (see 4.2.1). Young women as partners in research is a valuable notion for further development by those working in HIV prevention, as a means to promoting their voices and participation (Cahill 2007).

'Persuasiveness' and 'credibility' are considered as appropriate criteria for assessing the quality of narrative research (Riessman 1993; Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005). Here I consider that the interpretation is enhanced and the study made more credible and persuasive by treating the narratives as 'whole stories' (see the way they are presented in chapters five to seven) (Davis 2006). This makes more visible what young women said, but recognizes that the understandings of what these narratives mean is inevitably from my position (Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005; Kitzinger 2007). Narrative criteria for success in this study involved de-stabilizing norms and providing safe spaces within voiceless norms. The research methods went some way to meet these criteria, although there is inevitably further scope in an empowerment agenda (Cahill 2006; Lundy 2007).

The limitations of the approach adopted concern the difficulties in using a mix of methods, in particular the challenge of interpreting the individual datasets and bringing them together in a coherent way. Also, there are significant challenges in using subjective and critical arts based methods in what is typically a positivist health science discourse; not least is that of being able to influence those experts who are more familiar with positivist paradigms in research. Furthermore, reader positionality is always a challenge in an approach which aims to be critical yet where there are central issues of voicelessness; with researcher voice as inevitably more dominant as is the case here (McCarthy and Edwards 1998; Standing 1998; Sultana 2007).

4.6 Conclusion

The research design chapter provides details of the methods used and the fieldwork undertaken in this study. There was evidence of a dearth of research exploring young women's voices, as well as a lack of appropriate research tools, in HIV prevention research in Uganda. This pointed to the need to develop alternative methodologies. The major contribution to qualitative methodology concerned use of such alternatives, like narratives, for exploring young women's intimate lives and voices, especially in relation to the limitations they face. A critical framework of current HIV prevention paradigms was also developed for analyzing the data. The next chapters, five through to seven, present and analyze the data.

CHAPTER FIVE
'A GIRL IN THE SOCIETY'

A girl in the society', Dorothy's drawing (1)

5.1 Introduction

The substantive data chapter is presented here with presentation and analysis of the prominent themes of, domestic work, sexual violence, and the cultural practice of kneeling. Domestic work is presented in 5.2 mainly using the drawings. The longest and most detailed section in the data chapters is 5.3, which explores the prominent narratives of sexual violence and fear of infection with HIV/AIDS. Finally, in 5.4 there is a detailed analysis of representations of the cultural practice of kneeling to elders. Each section considers issues of speaking arising from the representations related to HIV prevention, with a substantive, concluding analysis in 5.5.

5.2 Working at Home

An exercise in counting content (Bell 2001; Rose 2001) showed that two thirds of the participant's drawings were about domestic work[11]. The many time-consuming tasks that the young women undertake in their daily lives are described in their drawings. Here Sara is fetching water from the tap (2); Sandra is cooking at home (3); Fauza is sweeping the compound (4); Bena is washing clothes (5) and Stella is helping her grandmother prepare food (12, see below). Other tasks depicted in the data are: planting, watering plants and digging.

'We are trying to show that a girl fetching water from the tap', Sara (2)

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[11] There are 13 sets of drawings; 1 participant did not draw and 2 participants chose to draw together. Of the 69 images, 45 are images of working at home, 10 are images of kneeling, and 5 are images of going to school.

'A girl is the one supposed to cook at home', Sandra (3)

'This is a girl…she is sweeping the compound', Fauza (4)

'The girl is washing clothes', Bena (5)

Grace's description of the place of work in a Musoga young woman's life reinforces the images of work in the drawings,

A girl in Busoga could be plant[ing] their flowers around the compound to avoid strong winds like mango trees. After that a girl not only planted trees but also clean it in order to make a good environment.   (Extract, Grace's Story, 6)

Further analysis of the drawings reveals that, beyond being a series of images of daily tasks, young women describe their work as crucial to the wider society and the sustaining of their families. There is a concern for what might happen if the work is not done (see Grace's point below about avoiding famine, 7). Fauza shares her knowledge of the important place of work, *'a girl is watering plants as our mothers do to prepare for the future generations'* (Fauza, drawing caption). By these words she is also indicating that domestic

work is a training and preparation for her future role as an adult woman in Basoga society (Sorensen 1996; Swezey 2004).

Grace also describes young women's responsibilities in relation to work,

'From there, a girl in Busoga could be digging whereby the increasing or inconcept people not have that burden. So the girl in Busoga could take their minds to get the knowledge to feed the increasing number of people. In addition to that, to avoid famine to have a variety in the home.'

 (Extract Grace's Story, 7)

The drawings, and other data, provide a voice for the study group about the traditional and gendered roles of young women in working at home, depicting their responsibilities, duties, and their place in the social order.

Whilst the drawings show that all young women have some responsibility for tasks in the home, other data indicate that there are differing circumstances relating to domestic work. Some face difficult, even catastrophic circumstances, which force them to drop out of school and marry early, or to help their family at home (see Diana's Story below, 9, and the extract from Drama Three, 10). Other young women indicate that there is a tension between domestic work and attending school (see Teresa's drawing captions below, 11). Then there are those who attend boarding school. They will not have to work at home during term time, but they do face chores at school. In Prisca's diary she describes the many tasks they must do at school,

<u>Girl's Achievement at School</u>

- House work like cleaning dormitories.
- Slashing the compound.
- Sweeping the compound.
- Cleaning toilets.
- Washing clothes.
- Washing plates.
- Mopping classrooms.
- Cleaning H/M's office.   (Extract, Prisca's Diary, 8)

There are a number of powerful narratives of poverty in the data. One such, which relates to additional pressures of domestic work, is Diana's story of a young woman who is digging for other households to provide essential items for herself that her family cannot afford,

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A story about a girl who is suffering because of lacking needs

When I was in senior two, I had a good friend called Veronica. She used to be among the best students. She was from a very poor family. Her daddy could not manage any other thing apart from paying fees.

Veronica used to dig for people in order to get some needs like clothings, shoes, books, among others. As she was suffering a lot, she thought of getting married knowing that the husband will be providing everything. As a friend, I did my work of giving advice but she could not easily understand what I was telling her. Some of her responses were 'Its because for you, they give you everything'. After saying that, she said whether what or what she has to marry. And I had nothing to do for my friend.

As per now, Veronica is suffering more than before because she has two kids. But looks for what they will eat, wear and other. Her husband has four wives. She told me this holiday that she admires school girls.

I hoped she would have been in important person in our country. Her suffering could not have continued since her father could struggle and get fees although he was as poor as a church mouse. Even if you passing through harsh conditions, my dear, struggle and complete your studies. Time will reach and you will enjoy life better than before. Some of our parents are poor and on top of that they have many children so please utilise what is available.

(Diana's Story, 9)

Although her father can just manage paying school fees, Diana describes Veronica facing multiple pressures; financial, emotional, and physical. However, leaving school and marrying, because she thinks that her husband *'will be providing everything'*, does not improve her situation but rather makes it worse, as she not only misses out on her schooling, but has two children to support.

Another narrative of poverty, which resonates with Veronica's tale of the relationship between poverty and domestic working, is found in Drama Three. A widow with three daughters has reduced financial circumstances and so pushes her daughters to drop out of school and work at home or marry. She says, *'You will become the source of income in our family'* (Extract, Drama Three,10). This illustrates the effect of changing circumstances, leading to poverty, putting pressure on young women's domestic workload, as well as on their education.

Emerging from this data (9, 10) is a counter narrative to that of an accepted and central role for young women to remain at home and work or marry early and work in a different household; that of resistance to domestic work, as a key aspect of poverty, and as a barrier to education. Teresa illustrates this in two of her drawing captions,

> *'a girl cooking food instead of going to school hence being denied education'.*
>
> And
>
> *'a girl try to be overworked by washing clothes at home'. (11)*

Teresa's words of resistance indicate some frustration with domestic work. The participants express strong desires for work outside the place of home in their aspirational writing (see 6.3), providing one explanation for their frustration with domestic work. Meinert, (2009), in her study with the Teso in Eastern Uganda, found that young women were satisfied with their traditional role at home. However, a study in The Gambia, of women's work and gender

inequality, resonates with Teresa's words. It states that young women 'are the most outspoken', in comparison to older women, in their frustration with their domestic workload (Chant 2007). The multiple voices of young women in these studies demonstrate that there are differences in aspirations and expectations amongst young women, but also in the case of the Gambia study, between young women and older women.

In 'reading' the drawings on the theme of work I consider how they relate to issues of young women's voices. Through the strong imagery, and repeated images, they represent a form of visual communication which is descriptive of work in young women's daily lives, and provides a form of 'speaking'. Detail in the drawings and the 'close ups' of work are useful devices in narrative to highlight the subject matter (Caulley 2008). These are used to good effect by Stella. In her vivid image of cooking, the flames are leaping high and there are strong details of the cooking pot and her stirring the food,

'A girl in Busoga region must cook food', Stella (12)

I also selected Grace's work to present here for its different and effective visual approach (see below, 13). Using a different form of drawing to the other participants, Grace moves away from the suggested example of a storyboard of pictures. Her single drawing of a homestead presents a powerful image, a rich picture, of aspects of the home in one drawing: buildings, people, farm, water source. This image makes the place of home very tangible, and as such young women's work and lives are made more visible. Pollock (1988), in relation to the work of women artists, discusses the way they represent feminine spaces. She notes that these usually domestic spaces are undervalued because they are the domain of women, often with the absence of men. Women artists represent what is important to them and by doing so bring these spaces and lives to the fore. Yet, in order to do this they must be given the opportunity to express themselves with a high degree of freedom. This applies similarly to young women in the study, who through the means of drawing speak about the place of work in their lives.

Grace's drawing (13)

The drawing captions contribute important information with the images. They are crucial in the data, assisting in the process of interpreting the images. They make a valuable contribution here to young women speaking about their lives (Diem-Wille 2001).

There is awareness of the tasks of farming, child-care, cooking and cleaning as the basis of young women's work and daily lives in the Ugandan context (Karuhanga-Beraho 2002). The role of these strong images of work, 'close ups' on the individual tasks (Banks 2001; Rose 2001), is to bring their domestic work to the fore and highlight related issues (Karuhanga-Beraho 2002).

Yet, young women's voices of self-worth and self-knowledge are at odds with societal undervaluing, and in some cases familial undervaluing, of young women's contributions (Karuhanga-Beraho 2002). Their level of responsibility and workload is not matched by their ability to compete for much-needed resources, such as for educational costs and basic goods (UNICEF 2006). Also, their responsibilities, as described in the data, are strikingly at odds with the way young people are often viewed by society and development institutions, that is as dependent individuals (Macleod 2003).

Whilst work is prominent in the drawings; it has little place in the other data and this seems significant in terms of method. It appears that the drawing method is an important means of uncovering experiences; conveying through strong imagery a sense of the embodied nature of young women's work, providing active images of undertaking tasks (Rose 2001; Chisholm 2008). This contributes to the study here by countering the invisibility of young women's work (Kwesiga 1998; Karuhanga-Beraho 2002). As such drawings are a potent method of speaking, about something that is relatively invisible and typically neglected (Rose 2001). Drawing may lend itself to describing work because of the embodied nature of work and because visual method allows for bodies to be depicted (Cross, Kabel et al. 2006). Whereas the narrative/story method does not bring out domestic work, but instead there is an emphasis on 'events', characterization, emplotment, rather than on daily

routine. This contributes to the value of the drawing method because the routine in women's daily lives is often ignored in research (Aptheker 1989).

Despite the advantages apparent in drawing as a method for young women's voices, the drawings of work here can reinforce the invisibility and silencing of young women in their lives. We know young women work, but the weight of work in their lives, the significance of it especially for those who are poor, is perhaps not fully appreciated, including in relation to HIV/AIDS prevention (Karuhanga-Beraho 2002). Yet, it is relevant in their sexual lives and health, especially in relation to life-choices and access to resources. Because it is under-valued and 'invisible' its impact on young women's education and subsequently in relation to young women's sexual health is often missed (Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009).

5.3 Rape and Bad Touches

Rape, sexual violence[12], towards young women, is another important theme in the data. It is mentioned frequently, vividly, and darkly, appearing in a number of guises, mainly in the stories (8 out of 15 stories[13] had a central theme of rape or bad touches); and in the dramas which followed on from the stories. Bena's short account of rape at the borehole is one such case, which I explore here in some detail,

> The girl is going to her borehole – the man raping girl. The girl is going home. The girl didn't (tell) the parents when the girl came back to home. The girl washing clothes and washing cups.
>
> The parent cooked girl the tea. Mother said – go (sweeping) the house. The (girl) said – I am sick. Parent said – can. The girl is going to school to study at school. One day was going at home. The parent said, can go fetch water. The girl go – the girl come back – the girl said to the parent the same man raping has…… (Bena's Story,14)

In Bena's story the violent act of rape is juxtaposed with the daily tasks of collecting water, sweeping, and washing dishes and clothes. The act takes place near the home during the day; the rapist is at the borehole where the young woman is fetching water. The young woman is silent on the matter whilst she attempts to continue with her domestic tasks, and indeed the rape is only uncovered by a doctor at the end of the story (see Rachel's note [14]).

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[12] Sexual violence is the broad term commonly used for various kinds of sexual violence, coercion and harassment. Particular terms, like 'rape' and 'bad touches' have situated meanings and definitions (WHO 2002).

[13] Themes in the other stories are: a father not paying school fees for his daughter; a young woman resisting kneeling to greet elders; conflict with a step-mother; the problem of poverty; a young women behaving well; 'my school'; and working at home.

[14]Because of the difficulties in understanding Bena's written account one of the field researchers, Rachel, interviewed Bena asking her to repeat the story. Rachel's notes are as follows, 'A girl goes to school. When she comes home the parents ask her to

In Bena's story the rape takes place without raising an alarm. The parents are not aware of what has happened at first, but as their daughter appears sick they force her to go to the hospital. It appears that the authorities are not involved. Instead it is stated that '*she was treated and got fine*'. This marks the story as different from other accounts in the data which invariably state that rape leads to the young woman being infected with HIV/AIDS.

This narrative creates a strong impression of horror and voicelessness in relation to the experience of rape; the young woman is silent and the parents seem unaware of the catastrophe. Such silence is a known feature of rape. It is hard for a young woman to talk about a rape event as disclosure is very painful given the terrifying and traumatic nature of the experience (Bhattacharya 2009; Blyth 2009).

As with Bena, in some of the stories and dramas sexual violence is presented as something which happens to young women, it is out of their control, they are helpless victims. The story of Rweske (Jessica's Story, 15) is another example of a shocking account of rape. There is a painful contrast between the happy life of a young woman, which occupies most of the story with rape happening abruptly at the end of the tale. The juxtaposition of the two accounts that of normality and crisis, contributes to the sense of the catastrophe that she experiences,

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go and fetch water. There at the well she found a man who raped her. When she got home she didn't speak when the parents asked her to wash dishes. She said she was sick so the parents asked her to go for medication but she rejected. So the parents took her by force to hospital. And the doctors discovered she was bleeding and suggested she was raped. So she was treated and got fine.'

> At school there is a girl call Rweske.
> She is fifteen years old.
> She is an orphan, and she is my friend.
> She likes posho and matooke.
> She wakes up early in the morning.
> She brushes her teeth.
> She washes her face.
> She cooks tea and then she takes tea.
> And she put on her uniform and shoes and she (goes) to school to study at school.
> One day was going at home she meet a man what I don't his name and that man he raped her. The girl start jumping up and down that man is positive HIV/AIDs.
>
> (Jessica's Story,15)

The repetition of a rape narrative, the variation of circumstances described, the trauma of the experiences represented, indicates the significance of sexual violence to the young women[15]. They express their fears, through these stories, and they are witnesses and advocates for other young women's fears on the matter (Blyth 2009). This is a critical role, as there is a lack of voices witnessing and acknowledging young women's experiences and emotions in relation to sexual violence (Wood and Maforah 1998; WHO 2002; Kitzinger 2007; Bhattacharya 2009).

Another type of rape mentioned is that of rape leading to marriage. Frances' and Diana's drawing, of a young woman carrying a baby, refers to a *'forced, early marriage'* (17, see below). Teresa's Story describes such a case where a young woman is forced by her family to marry an older man; her parents colluding in her rape before marriage. In this story rape is not a one-off event but takes place repeatedly,

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[15] In chapter two it was noted that Ugandan young women describe 'rape' or 'forced sex' as an act of sexual intercourse in which the young woman had not consented, usually involving physical violence and bodily forcing. Physical coercion, such as fondling the breasts, was said to occur mainly between girlfriends and boyfriends. Young women also referred to coercion by male teachers. Such acts were said to make a young woman 'feel bad' (Neema and Moore, 2007; Hayer, 2010).

A story about the problems being faced by girls of today

It was on a day when I came to know that girls will never and never stop suffering because of the problems they normally face. And I also came to know that whenever girls grow up the youth stage becomes a problem to all people and even in their family. And this came to pass when there was one girl who used to face these problems.

First and foremost, this girl could really be denied education imagine by her family member telling her and informing her that girls of Busoga region will never be educated – there the solution the parents were trying to give the girl was to look for somebody to marry. But what was good enough is that (s)he didn't accept her family's decision and she decided either to be hated by everybody of their family in order for her to prepare for her future.

More so, the girl didn't only suffer from that one problem but again if problems are to be conquer you just know that yours are bad. The girl was also travelling one day when she met a man on the way who (was) triple her age because the girl was on 13 years of age and the man himself was 39 years of age. And what was said that this man at that time was just sent by the girl's family to rape the girl so that they can get married. And what followed next is that the girl was raped by the old man and the girl having no one to tell her secrets she decided to keep quiet whereby at the end the girl developed an unwanted pregnancy in such a way.

While at the family they were so happy as they knew that thing had become OK for them because they were going to get everything from the girl as they took the girl to be their source of income at their family.

And one day, one morning, the father together with the mum decided to call up the girl by their sight and what was out of them was that they took the situation which had happened to the girl as a joking matter. The mother went ahead and told the girl *Tojjamalako-nange* ('Without me you will not be able to continue..') when you don't accept that man and the family and the neighbouring home by that time could also come up with lame ideas that the girl was just bewitched – but what the girl was after is just to prepare for her future. And what was next, the family prepared ceremonies celebrating their girl going with a man who could triple her age at the same time having HIV/AIDs. And the girl also had nothing to do instead accepted and went with the man to form a family and produce a football and netball [team].

'Therefore I conclude by saying that parents should at least take girls as people who at least know something and girls should also stop taking whatever they are being told by their parents.' (Teresa's Story) (16)

'A girl suffering due to forced early marriage', Frances and Diana (17)

At first, the daughter speaks out on her own behalf in the face of strong opposition from her family,

> *'..and she decided either to be hated by everybody of their family in order for her to prepare for her future'. (Extract, Teresa's Story, 16)*

Initially she is presented as having an empowered voice, as she speaks in the face of the opposition of parents and community (Kabeer 2005). But, this exercising of power through her voice is only an illusion. In the end she is silenced in the most awful way. The family is described as happy that *'they were going to get everything from the girl as they took the girl to be their source of income at their family'*. Painfully, they are described as treating this as a joking matter; her mother saying '*Tojjamalako nange*' ('without me you will not be able to continue when you don't accept that man'). The story not

only represents the parents as not listening to their daughter; but also, the community supports the parents saying that the girl is bewitched.

Teresa argues on behalf of the young woman that the rape-marriage is a catastrophe for her. Teresa shows contempt in the way she describes the age difference between the girl and the man, and in relation to the production of a large family, a '*football and netball [team]*', as is the traditional norm. By doing so she indicates not only concern for the loss of education, but also that the young woman will suffer throughout her life, being married to an older man, who may infect her with HIV/AIDS; also having a large family to support. In this story there is a tension between the way Teresa-the daughter view the events and how others (communities, parents) view them. The cultural norm of arranged and early marriage is at odds with what Teresa-the daughter wants for the future. Essentially, the daughter is denied a life choice, and the implication is that she is forced to accept a life she would not choose for herself, and in the most coercive of circumstances. At the end Teresa exhorts young women to '*stop taking whatever they are being told by their parents';* indicating that instead they should follow their preferred choice*.* This theme in the narrative, fundamental to gender empowerment theory, captures the idea of a young woman not having a say in a vital strategic choice and despite resisting strongly she fails (Kabeer 1999).

The story method, with Teresa as an able 'narrative creator' (Leonard 2000; Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005) lends itself to a 'standpoint' approach, that is presenting the narrative from a young woman's point-of-view (Bochner 2002; Harding 2004; Davis 2006). In adopting one person's standpoint, providing details of a case, it enables her to more forcefully make a general case for the position of young women for the benefit of the reader. She reinforces this in her introductory words, '*the youth stage becomes a problem'.* In so doing it strengthens her arguments for empowerment and offers a challenge in the form of inter-generational resistance, for the right of young women to be self-determining.

Yet, on one level, although Teresa is acting as a powerful witness for the terrible experiences of one young woman in her story there is a lack of exploration of the experience of rape itself, instead she focuses on the implications of the rape for the young woman's life choices. Perhaps this reflects her personal concern in the narrative, more than sexual violence itself. Also, it probably reflects a lack of language and the extreme difficulties in discussing sexual violence in any fuller way (Wood and Maforah 1998; WHO 2002; Bhattacharya 2009; Blyth 2009).

There are various indications in the data of resistance to sexual violence. There are young woman who speak out against rape (or 'forced marriage'), although they still end with being raped as is the case in Teresa's Story. Another example of resistance is that of the daughter in Drama Three. She is approached by a man in the street who says that he loves her but she rejects him,

> *'You are lying. You find your level best. I'm not even your size. You are not my age. How can I love you? How can my family hear that I love such a man? Don't even familiar me'* (Extract, Drama Three,18).

In her use of '*find your level best*', '*I'm not even your size*', '*you are not my age*' she emphasizes, through language and repetition, the age difference and therefore the inappropriateness of his advances. She attempts to exercise power through a strong voice and use of forceful and repeated language to convey her contempt and rejection. Yet, despite the fact that she makes this powerful declaration of rejection the man still rapes her; emphasizing that resistance to sexual violence is very difficult.

A further form of sexual violence is described in the data as 'bad touches'[16]. Sara's Story describes 'bad touches' by a teacher at school,

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The story about girl too bad

One day teacher came to school and to classroom and bad touches and bring my stick and ran down – headmaster came to school and go to class asked – why she was too bad – Mother is come to school – Mother – why do you come to school – It is very hot here – It is found you when. (Sara's Story, 19)

This is one of a number of short stories[17] in the data. It combines the event itself, which seems to involve sexual 'touching' by a teacher, with the subsequent involvement of other adults, that is the mother and head teacher, to mark a painful experience or one that was 'too bad'. This story resonates with the drama-work of young women at a school in Zaria, Nigeria (Kafewo 2008). Schoolgirls chose a case of sexual coercion of a student by a teacher as one of their subjects for drama. Sexual abuse in school is a difficult and hidden issue, although acknowledged in HIV prevention (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004). As a result it is not easy to have a voice on this subject using conventional means (Mirembe and Davies 2001; Blyth 2009). The Zaria experience shows that the use of narrative theatre can provide a space for not only the enactment of sexual abuse at school; but also a space for debate and reflection resulting from the enactment, allowing actors and audience to develop critical skills together (Boals 1979; Kafewo 2008). Similarly, in Sara's story (19), although it is brief, she uses the opportunity of writing her story to present 'bad touches', giving prominence to this issue, and this is important as it serves to bring this difficult subject forth.

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[16]See footnote 14 for meaning of 'bad touches'.

[17]There are 6 short stories and 9 longer ones reflecting different written English ability, relating to participant age, numbers of years of schooling.

Sexual violence is represented as affecting young women deeply. In Bena's story, after the rape the young woman falls sick; in the case of Rweske, she jumps up and down; and in Sara's story the young woman feels 'too bad'. For them it is a catastrophe, which has a terrible affect on their emotions; and on their physical health (they may become infected with HIV/AIDS, and become pregnant); also, on their life choices (they may have to drop out of school if pregnant, married or sick). Yet there is a sense from the data that society and sometimes families do not fully recognize this. Indeed in some cases there is a tacit acceptance and/or collusion in sexual violence. In Teresa's story, there is family and community collusion in the events. In Bena's Story there appears to be a lack of action, a helplessness of the parents, and no mention of involving the authorities. This tacit acceptance or collusion in the data resonates with what is known about sexual violence as linked to cultural and gender norms of behaviour and existing power relations in Uganda (Neema, Moore et al. 2007). Sexual violence is thus difficult to talk about let alone address given that it is embedded in a given context of culture, relationships, and power, as well as societal inaction.

Regardless of whether the narratives tell of 'stranger' or one-off rape; repeated rape or rape within marriage; or 'bad touches' at school, there are signs in the data that young women have limited agency to prevent sexual violence. What emerges from the theme of rape in the stories and dramas is a type of narrative, that of crisis or tragedy (Gergen and Gergen 1986; Davis 2006). It could also be described as a collective or shared narrative given that it is repeated within the data. Engdal (2005) refers to the function of the collective narrative as serving as a means to speak about fears, and shared fears. This appears to be the case here; where the rape narrative represents a range of related fears, such as infection with HIV/AIDS as well as sexual violence.

The 'crisis' narrative is distinguished by using various mechanisms to make meaning: such as, the contrast in the data between 'normality' (Bena working hard or Rweske going about her daily routine) and the crisis of rape highlighting the contrast between happiness and pain. Also, it depicts fragility

in young women's daily lives; with young women having little control over events. These narratives indicate a concern for a lack of safety in the environment of their everyday lives, such as, fetching water, or going to school.

The link between rape and being infected with HIV is made repeatedly. For instance the link is made in Jessica's story of Rweske which ends in her rape, '*The girl start jumping up and down that man is positive HIV/AIDs'* (Extract, Jessica's Story, 15 above). Fear of rape in the data relates to fear of the consequences in terms of pregnancy and/or forced marriage to a (possibly older) man chosen by the family and loss of education as a result (see Teresa's Story, 16), with the implied fear of death as a result of being infected with HIV/AIDS. This is likely to contribute to the stigmatizing nature of HIV/AIDS within a climate of fear. Stella's drawing (20, below) of young women with the marks of HIV on her face illustrates these fears. See also Fauza's image and words on HIV as a young woman's problem,
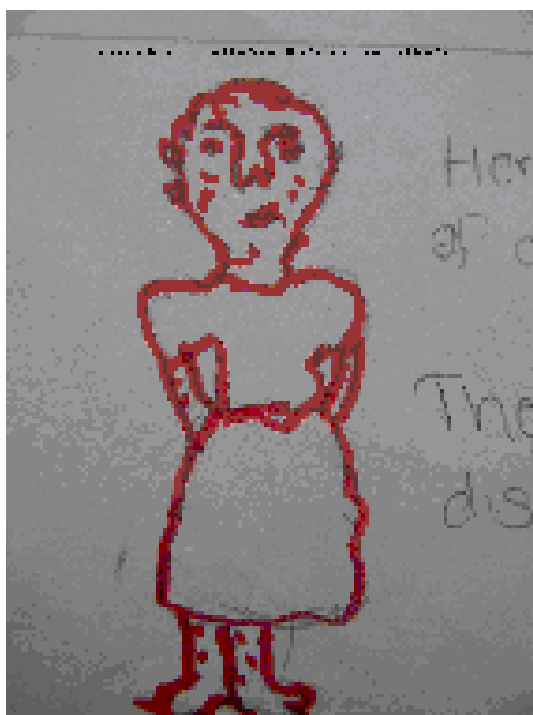
Stella's drawing of a girl with HIV (20)

'A girl always faces a problem of HIV/AIDs'. Fauza (21)

The narratives described above are of 'good', or well-behaved, young women as both silent and resisting victims of rape. But there is another representation in the data: that of the badly-behaved young woman who is raped. One such example from the data is the 'cheeky' and rebellious daughter in Drama Two who refuses to kneel to her mother and uncle. Her Uncle instructs her to stay at home and not move around, but she ignores this and meets three friends on the road, greeting them with 'Hi-Fives'. *'Hi girl'* says one. The friends arrange to get-together; but a man meets her alone and rapes her (extract from Drama Two transcript). Thus, the bad behaviour in Drama Two concerns moving around away from home, instead of staying close and helping the mother; also meeting with friends, including meeting men.

The stories told by Sandra (22) and Frances (23) continue with similar tales of bad behaviour. Sandra's story is particularly dark describing a young woman

who '*minimizes*' (disrespects) her elders. Her fate is very harsh as she is gang-raped by a large group of boys. She finds herself pregnant and HIV positive as a result of the rape,

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A School Girl

There was a girl. She was schooling in Bugembe blue primary school.

That girl was very undisciplined. She used to minimise her elders. When she was told to do some work at home she could not do. But she used just to walk up and down the all day.

She could abuse people if she was told to stop walking at night alone. Sometime going in disco with a lot of boys and men when she is the only girl. The all day she could make her mother cry because of her undisciplined daughter.

When she was going to school she could not reach in time. She used to go to the source (of Nile) then after she remembers that she need to got to school.

But one day she came late and the headmaster gave her some strokes of canes. So as they caned her she dropped out of school and went to a certain man's home. Then time reached when the man was also tired of her. Then she asked herself where to go but she had nowhere to go.

Cont/…

She went to her uncle's place but she didn't stop her habits.

But one day she was walking late at night and she found a group of boys. About twenty of them they raped her. A certain man who was kind helped her and took her to the hospital but at the end of the day she was found pregnant and HIV positive.

(Sandra's Story, 22)

In Sandra's Story 'a girl' is described as *'walking at night alone'*; *'sometime going in disco with a lot of boys and men when she is the only girl'*; also, she bunks off school, and goes to a man's house. In other words, her behaviour is particularly 'bad', dangerous and risky leading to an inevitably horrible outcome.

The words used about bad behaviour are: *'undisciplined'*, *'minimizing elders'* (Sandra's Story 22), *'cannot hear her parents'* (Anna's Story 24 below), and these are related to 'loose' sexual behaviour or prostitution being '*malaya*' or '*mediocre*' (France's Story 23). Also, in France's Story she describes, the young woman, Resty, as *'stubborn'* and '*talkative*' (hence her nickname 'Resty'). These are characteristics, which appear to be associated with sexual risk in this context given Resty's behaviour. Whereas society considers appropriate behaviours as being submissive and quiet (see also 5.4) (Fallers 1965; Swezey 2004).

From these different accounts we are presented with circumstances that young woman cannot avoid. But also there are circumstances where the young woman is presented as being at fault, where sexual violence results from risky behaviour. Yet, there appears to be some tension between these different ideas. In Frances's story, whilst describing Resty's behaviour as sexually loose, she builds a somewhat sympathetic picture of her as a person with the likeable characteristics of being lively and funny, regretting her actions, and trying to deal with her pregnancy,

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A composition about a girl child

In a certain village named Ivunamba there was a girl of 14 years. She was a sister of one of my friend in that area.

The girl whom I am talk too was a bit funny. She was a nick named Kadalu. Then I asked my friend called Juliet that how is it that for you you are not funny like your sister Kadalu.

My friend Juliet told that Kadalu is like that even the name Kadalu is from her being so stubborn and talkativeness whenever she goes but her true name is called Resty.

By then Resty was in S2 at 'K' Senior Secondary School.

According to my observation this girl was not regarded as a stubborn girl but also *'malaya'* [sexually loose] she got pregnant at 15 years in S3.

She run away from her parents to her grandmother near their village. By the time her pregnancy came to 5 months she wanted to abort which was a tug of war to her life in this world.

Cont/…

She talked to her grandmother about her being pregnant and her suggestion of abortion but she advised her not to abort until birth. Resty continued with her business of aborting but all in vain.

She became 'mediocre' [sexually loose] in order to get money to buy some necessities.

Unfortunately she could not tell even the real father of the pregnancy since she could get money from each and every man she comes across.

Up to now she gave birth to a boy child but she still tells regrets and problems about her life. Resty fears to go back to her parents thinking that (she) will be punished.

(Frances's Story, 23)

Also Anna excuses the young woman in her story because she is led astray by a badly-behaved friend,

'Once upon a time there was a girl who was well behaved. She had good behaviours against her parent. Whenever she is greeting she greets them while kneeling down. But one day she was thinking about her future plans so she said that she has to be educated higher. She was given enough fees or funds for her education.

She was a responsible person at home she can (do) everything at home – that's digging, fetching water from the borehole, cooking, and everything she can do at home. After her education she got a job.

Then one day she meet a girl who was bad behaved she cannot hear her parents. This girl got married after some time. She married already affected person. He was HIV+ so this girl faced a problem of HIV/AIDs.

I conclude by saying that gals take care of your lives and respect your parents at home to achieve your bright future life with flying colours.'

(Anna's Story, 24)

This illustrates a key feature of the narrative method; that of characters who face real difficulties and who make mistakes. The nature of stories, and a major attraction of them, is that the reader can identify with the characters as individuals, feeling moved or affected. Also, the narrative method provides opportunities for the storyteller to shape the message; to convey what they want the story to say (Hollway and Jefferson 2000). Here, young women as storytellers appear to be mirroring societal stereotypes of good and bad behaviour in young women. Cahill (2010), in analyzing drama-work for HIV prevention in Vietnam, notes that there is a tendency to mirror societal rules in participatory performance, even where it aims to challenge the status quo.

Yet, as the reader of these tales I see ambiguities in the stories of badly-behaved young women. Some of the characterizations of badly behaved young women are sympathetic. (See for instance the portrayal of Resty in France's story and Anna's tale of a young woman led astray). There are also indications that even if a young woman is well behaved she is still at risk of sexual violence. The storytellers exhort and advise young women to remain without sex, whilst recognizing that the environment is high risk, and that it might not be totally in their hands. Also, indicating that parents and society have a role to play in protection and support.

The ambiguity, complexity, and multiplicity created by the narrative offers opportunities to go beyond stereotyping to something which is more complex. The societal situations faced by young women, provide a good basis for debate and collaborative exploration; they are suggestive of a need for mechanisms to 'rupture' rules and norms of behaviour for empowering change (Cahill 2010). These issues of storytelling and close reading, intention and interpreting, ambiguity and complexity, provide a valuable space for exploration by storyteller and reader/listener to express views and ideas about meaning, multiple individual actions and outcomes. The drama-work in Zaria, Nigeria (Kafewo 2008) similarly demonstrated such possibilities by providing an acceptable space for performing difficult themes through narrative.

An issue related to that of 'loose' sexual behaviour, which is prominent in the HIV/AIDS literature and linked with high risk, is that of transactional sexual relations (Chatterji, Murray et al. 2005; Neema, Moore et al. 2007). Nonetheless it is mentioned only briefly in the data. In Sandra's story (22) the young woman goes to stay in a man's house, until he gets tired of her. In Frances' story (23) of Kadulu,

> *'She became 'mediocre' [sexually loose] in order to get money to buy some necessities.'* (Extract from Frances' Story, 23)

Also Prisca, in her diary, refers to exchange of money for sex in her list of problems faced by young women,

> *'No enough pocket money for boarding students which force them to be cornered by boys and eventually they fall in love.'* (Extract from Prisca's Diary, 24)

These words are significant in that they refer to young woman's lack of money, which makes them vulnerable to coercion from men, who have money. The use of '*fall in love'* in relation to these issues of money and coercion seems to resonate with the idea of 'admiration'. Swezey (2004) found that a Basoga woman is drawn towards a man for the money or gifts that he can provide, because she has little access to money, and this shapes ideas of 'love' or admiration between men and women, and relating to inequality in relationships (Swezey 2004).

Language is important in the data and this is richly demonstrated in the narratives of rape. Various terms are used which mirror and reinforce societal stereotypes and expected behaviours (Pattman 2005; Bhana and Pattman 2009). Language is a key feature of sexual relations between young men and women, shaping their attitudes to each other.

In terms of HIV discourse and practice the rape narratives resonate with ideas of both 'young women's vulnerability' and 'adolescent risky behaviours'. Young women's vulnerability to sexual violence is reflected in a difficult

environment: in places and people independent of the behaviour of young women. This fits with the notion of a dangerous environment, the lack of protection, and the need for additional protection, for instance, from parents, adult men and community (WHO 2002; WHO 2006). Whereas the idea of badly behaved young women resonates with the idea of 'risky adolescent behaviour', perhaps reflecting the stereotype of the dangerous teenager (Macleod 2003). The stories here present both of these constructions but with greater complexity and ambiguity, and crucially reflecting societal and personal issues of morality and stigma.

The representations of men in the narratives of sexual violence are important, yet surprisingly under-developed. Men are central to the rape, for instance as perpetrators, but they are in the background in the data in comparison to the 'main characters' who are daughters and their parents. Although they are not directly criticized, the adult male role is acknowledged and critiqued in subtle ways. For instance, there are voices of contempt and fear associated with men; in the exchange between Susan and the rapist in Drama Three (18); and in Teresa's story (16) there are words of contempt about the husband's age. In the data the rapist(s) are shadowy, frightening yet silent figures. In this case silence denotes embodied power; that is physical 'power over' young women.

Unlike the portraits of men, the place of parents in the rape narratives is more prominent. It is complex, multiple and sometimes sympathetic as well as critical. Parents appear in these encounters as either helpless and silent, and therefore unable to protect their daughters (see Bena's Story 14, and Jessica's Story,15). Or, they are powerful and colluding in rape within or before marriage (see Teresa's Story, 16). Or, parents are angry and feel helpless, speaking out angrily but not being listened to in relation to a badly-behaved daughter, exhorting the young women to stay at home and not meet friends, *'You stop moving at night and stop bringing here bad groups.'* (Uncle in Drama Two).

Another narrative in the data with similar characteristics to that of tragedy, but more directly associated with HIV prevention concerns the issue of morality. The function of a morality narrative is to provide guidance towards a certain path (Andrews, Day Sclater et al. 2007; Hok and Wachtler 2007). Tragedy and morality tales are different in relation to the degree of agency that the characters have. In a morality tale there is usually an issue of choice, of being able to make a decision (Hok and Wachtler 2007). This makes the morality tale particularly significant in HIV prevention, which is associated with making choices in sexual behaviour (Andrews, Day Sclater et al. 2007). It is also significant in terms of power-empowerment, with the tragedy implying lack of power, or agency, and the morality tale implying that the characters have a degree of choice, or agency. As both types of narratives are present here it contributes to the ambiguity of their messages. The morality tales provide lessons to other young women, and no doubt the young women in the study have been exposed to such messages. Parikh (2007) refers to 'medico-moral' messages, shared narratives in the society which are shaping sexual attitudes and behaviour and circulating in Ugandan society.

Young women say little that is positive about sexuality; although some refer to their expectations concerning marriage (see 6.3). Pattman (2005; 2009) suggests that for South African young women not mentioning sexual feelings relates to social constructions of them as 'moral', as not interested in sex, and that it is taboo to show sexual feelings and interest; whereas young men are 'permitted' to be sexual beings, with sexual feelings. What is implied in the narrative is that for young women acceptable sexuality is considered to be to wait to have sex; that sex is about marriage and children; and this may go some way to explain the silence about sexuality from young women here (Neema, Moore et al. 2007).

This also fits with HIV prevention messages of young people abstaining from sex. Young women in the research appear to be 'on message' in relation to HIV prevention. There is very limited mention of young romance, first sex, consensual sex, sexual pleasure, boyfriends and love, as might be expected of this age group (Neema, Moore et al. 2007; Cassar 2009). This is perhaps

not surprising given that the research was conducted with the involvement of STF. The young women are fully aware of the work of STF and others, and the HIV prevention messages of abstinence, delayed sex, and protection. They may in this context consider that it is inappropriate to refer to boyfriend, romance or sexual feelings in their narratives, in the presence of adults and especially STF workers.

A noteworthy exception to this in the data is Prisca's comments in her diary,

Stories about friends towards Straight Talk (writer Prisca)

1 I am in S4 in love with a S3 boy. My friends tease me that he is not of my standard. Yet our love is so deep and I do not want to lose him. What can I do? (Prisca, S4, St John's SS).

2 I have been in love with my boyfriend for three years. But recently I learnt that he is also in love with my cousin. What should I do? (NP, S5, St John's SS).

3 How can a girl know that a boy loves her? (Zziwa Abubecc,a St John's SS). (Extract, Prisca' Diary, 25)

Here Prisca, using the format of STF youth magazines, is portraying young romance, including her own.

Also, there is very little on young women being protected in sex, again perhaps because of the emphasis on abstaining; and it not being appropriate to talk about protection. Given the focus in the study on HIV prevention, this absence seems to be a very crucial point, especially as young women in the age group 15-19 years are having sex, mostly within marriage but also outside marriage, and protection is clearly important. Prisca mentions getting tested before marriage, '*If I get a man who will marry me we first go for HIV/AIDs blood testing. Then after if we are all negative we get married by introduction and then wedding.*' (Prisca's Aspiration, chapter six, 6.3, 54).

Prisca notes that the STF programme is about,

> *Girl's responsibility*
> *Respect for elders*
> *Lack of basic needs*
> *Early pregnancy* (Extract, Prisca's Diary, 26)

Interestingly she does not mention protection against HIV or other STI's. But she does refer to young women's traditional role of '*responsibility*' and *'respect'* as well as lack of basic needs and early pregnancy. This seems a very selective sense of the STF programme, with little reference to men, sexual health and protection.

Also, Susan mentions protection briefly,

> *So my dear girls – if you have a boy lover please use condom in order to plan for your future.* (Extract, Susan's Story, 27)

Ultimately, in these rich narratives young women represent a complex picture of the pervasive and fearful nature of sexual violence and its effects. They refer to the role of parents in protecting them. But, crucially there is little about the role of men in relation to sexual violence, as well as the community. Their narratives concern lack of agency yet desire for agency, bad behaviour and societal regulation, and the medico-moral messages of abstinence around HIV prevention. They question whether or not they can protect themselves, with limitations to being protected by their parents or the wider society. There is a suggestion that personal agency does play a part, but they are conflicted to the extent that this is so, and what it means. There is a sense of shared stories and fears, but little indication of positive trends in sexuality, protection, agency, and empowerment. There are serious issues of acceptance of and collusion in violence, stereotyping, and lack of action on rape.

The narrative method is valuable in providing a space for young women's voices to explore sexual violence, a difficult subject in HIV prevention. The space was gendered, and relatively safe, and issues of HIV prevention just started to emerge. However, the space provided in the research was bounded

by various elements, which contributed to shaping and perhaps limiting young women's voices; that is the adult/STF presence and facilitation, expectations associated with that, and practical issues of time. It would however indicate the scope for using narrative for complex representations, sexual lives explored in context, values and emotions around sexuality, and narrative as a means to explore issues of sexual violence further.

5.4 Kneeling to Elders

Kneeling to greet elders has a significant presence in the drawings, which goes beyond the physical act to something more meaningful to young women and to the wider society. Dorothy's detailed and compelling image of kneeling, with an exaggeratedly-large adult woman sitting on a checked mat in relation to the small figure of a young woman, illustrates the physical action but also the meaningful nature of kneeling,

'A girl greeting while kneeling down', Dorothy (28)

Kneeling is described as follows,

'In Busoga region a girl is supposed to kneel down on her legs whenever she is to greet someone' (Sara, drawing caption, 29).

'Because when kneel(ing) you respect your parents while God adding you some days to be alive' (Extract Grace's Story, 30).

The use of the words, '*kneel down on her legs'*, and the reference to respect for parents and God, fundamental values of the society, emphasize the importance of the act of kneeling.

Young boys of Busoga must also kneel but only until about 6 years of age; whereas for girls this prevails into adulthood. This gendered difference in greeting, starting from such an early age, is a potent symbol of the gendered separation of girls and boys, embedded in the long history of female subordination and male power in Basoga society (Fallers 1965; Musisi 1991). Kneeling appears as a key symbol of young women's role in the society and as part of their training for adulthood (Fallers 1965; Swezey 2004). The drawings of kneeling convey an iconic sense of young women's place. Iconography concerns not only a physical representation, but layers of meaning, often relating to a particular cultural and historical context (T. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001). Here kneeling is an important symbol of historically and culturally situated gender subordination and it serves to perpetuate social norms and power relations. That is, the social norm of difference in status not only between young women and adults, but also between young women and young men.

Prisca's drawing of kneeling presents a similarly strong image of power and kneeling to the others but it is unique in the drawings in representing the only male figure. The absence of men perhaps relates to the situation of girls and young women staying close to the home and their mothers; whilst expectations for boys and young men are that they will move around outside the home (see Table 1, chapter two). The image of daughters and mothers kneeling (see also the 'power play' and dialogue between mothers and daughters in two of the dramas) demonstrates the importance of inter-generational power relations between women. Also, it is reflective of the feminine space which young women and their mothers dominate (see Grace's drawing, 13, 5.2) (Pollock 1988). In Prisca's drawing, as with some of the other kneeling images, the man is disproportionately large in relation to the image of the young woman. In semiological terms this matter of proportion in

the drawings indicates adult power over young women (T. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001),

'A girl in our area should kneel while greeting a person who is older than her', Prisca (31)

'A person trying to show up the responsibility of kneeling down when greeting', Teresa (32)

'A girl in Busoga sits and kneels when greeting her elders', Sandra (33)

Yet, despite this iconic image of the good young woman behaving appropriately, there are strong indications in the data of resistance to kneeling. Stella's Story is such an account,

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A story about a girl child in Busoga region

One day as I was going to school I saw a girl in Busoga region. She met her father on the way but instead of kneeling down to greet her father she just stand.

But her father told her this is the warning. Next time I will slap you. And also on her way home she met her teacher who teaches social studies and also she did the same thing. She greet her teacher while stand. Her teacher told her not to do that again. That was the last I saw of her.   (Stella's Story, 34)

What seems extra-ordinary is that, with so much emphasis on the tradition of kneeling as proper behaviour, she should tell this shocking tale of a girl who does not kneel to her father or her teacher. It depicts vividly a young woman's opposition to tradition and authority. The narrative conveys the powerful idea of 'not kneeling' through the direct and repeated refusal to kneel even in the

face of warnings of punishment. This is an example, one of a number in the data, of a young woman who tries to exercise power by speaking out in the face of opposition (Kabeer 2005). It is made more unexpected because of the societal tradition of young women as quiet and submissive (see for example Frances' story where Resty, who goes on to behave badly, is criticized for being 'stubborn' and 'talkative', chapter five, 5.3, 23). It is a resistance that is embodied rather than spoken, the use of the body as a form of speaking but without words (Hollander and Einwohner 2004).

The idea of resistance to kneeling continues in Drama Two. Prisca played the part of a daughter who refuses to kneel because, '*I have a problem of knees'*,

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Mum: You are welcome brother. How is there?

Uncle: It's OK

Mum: The problem I have and the reason I have called you here is my daughter. She has become a problem to me. She doesn't want to listen to me; and she walks up and down the whole day. She doesn't want to work. She doesn't want to go to school – At least you can help me and take her. I'm tired of her.

Uncle: OK

Mum: Prisca - come here.

Daughter comes and greets Uncle standing.

Mum: Is that the way you greet your Uncle? Can't you kneel?

Daughter (speaking quietly but not kneeling): Why not mum?

Mum: Very stupid!

Daughter: I have a problem of knees.

Mum: Very stupid!

(Extract from Drama Two, 35)

This form of resistance in the drama is less obvious than that presented in Stella's Story; it is more muted, more ambivalent in the speaking, with less risk to the speaker. The 'problem of knees' seems to be a 'sign' that she has a problem with bending her knees to adults, perhaps to avoid bending to their decisions. The scene in the drama is conducted with some humour, at the expense of the mother and uncle, and at the expense of the idea of kneeling itself. Here she uses humour as a de-stabilizing device. Sometimes rupture of norms takes the form of straightforward declamatory statements of opposition, such as in Harriet's Story below, 36 (Kesby 2005; Cahill 2010).

The humorous element, as well as the element of resistance, is conveyed by contrasting a quiet submissive tone of voice with the outrageous words. The viewers are invited to laugh at the performance, and the underlying meaning. The use of the 'muted' voice is reminiscent of the work of Gilligan and others (Taylor, Gilligan et al. 1995), who describe young women as muted by a regulating society. Yet, it also reflects ideas of resistance; the subtle use of power by someone who is powerless, and who is not accepting power; instead 'pushing' for change (Hollander and Einwohner 2004; Mahoney 2009).

Another powerful narrative of resistance to kneeling is embedded in Harriet's Story about parental opposition to female education,

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I am writing about my friend

One day I went to my friend's home to visit her. She was happy and her mother but after giving me tea she told me her problems. She told me that her father stopped paying for her school fees. That he is paying for boy only. I asked her that your father is around she told me that no. I told her that I will come back another day. After sometime I went back. The good thing her father he was there. I told her father to come where I was sitting. I told her (him) that you stop giving only boys school fees because even girls they can get jobs. After that her father told her to go (to) school. She was in S6. She sat for her exams and she passed. Now she is a teacher. So let parents give both girls and boys school fees. (Harriet's Story, 36)

By saying, '*I told her father to come where I was sitting.*' she voices an almost unimaginable reversal of proper behaviour, and as such it is telling as a resistance to existing power relations. She demonstrates just how valuable kneeling (and by implication the body), is as a vehicle for power reversal. If you cannot sit as an equal with someone you cannot voice your opinion or be heard. It thus brings into sharp focus the issue of embodied power and powerlessness. The data seems to indicate that without the reversal of such cultural practice, it is difficult to become empowered (Hollander and Einwohner 2004).

Chambers (1994) advocates that participation practice is a key means to power reversal. However, participation is not normally linked to the idea of resistance or oppositional actions (such as opposition to kneeling here); instead it is associated with cooperation and collaboration. The data therefore points to the issue of power reversal and inter-generational collaboration. Perhaps such power reversal as proposed by young women is not 'comfortable' to others; such as, adults, communities and society who have power in relation to young people. Young women are not heard in relation to power reversals, but rather these are perceived as bad behaviour and being rebellious.

In fact, young women have few opportunities for resistance or critique in the regular spaces of school or programmes; regardless of whether critique is 'comfortable' or not. An advantage of the narrative method is that it offers space for expression which may not be 'comfortable' or normally accepted (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Hollander and Einwohner 2004). In the study it could be argued that the space provided, involving adults and a clear link to STF, only provided a permissible or comfortable space to a certain extent; it did not provide a space for instance to discuss issues which would be 'off message' such as having a boyfriend, or having sexual relations.

Kneeling appears to act as a focus for the tension between culturally constructed subordination in young women's lives, and their efforts to have identity, voice and choice in an environment of social change. It is a difficult

tension for them given that adherence to respectful, yet subordinate, behaviour diminishes the possibilities for them to speak. Yet, there is the likelihood that if they do express their views or choices they may be accused of bad or inappropriate behaviour. In Harriet's Story, calling the father to sit with her is an aid to getting her point across. It is direct, 'assertive' and 'forthright'. It is an expression of equality, different from the subtle, 'cheeky' or rebellious voices or resistant actions also presented. Assertion, or speaking as to an equal rather than in a muted way, could be a type of resistance aimed at an adult audience, and perhaps more clearly associated with a striving for change, as in the case in Harriet's tale, 36 (Hollander and Einwohner 2004).

Resistance to kneeling is an important issue because it has wider significance than as purely resistance to an action. Given the changing social environment, including changing practice in terms of greeting[18], it symbolizes changing values in relation to gender power. Yet, because it is an action, and a routine one at that, it tends not to be viewed in relation to power, or as a means of maintaining or reversing power.

Method is important here in providing an outlet for indirect critique. Young women critique a phenomenon which is not normally the focus of attention - the act of kneeling. The nature of narrative, drawn, written and performed, is that it allows for symbolism and layers of meaning to emerge, about power, gender and culture. Not only do the images lend themselves to the theme of kneeling, but also performance and the device of stories such as, telling someone else's story also serves in this way. Stella, in her story, is saying something which is socially unacceptable or inappropriate in relation to young women. Similarly Prisca uses humour, through the muted voice juxtaposed with refusing to kneel, in the 'permissible' space of performance (Drama

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[18] Change is reflected in that whilst kneeling to greet still has an important place in Basoga culture, the practice (whilst still specific to women) is increasingly to dip down or squat rather than kneel on two knees; although there is some disapproval about this slipping of tradition and proper respect (personal observation and discussion in the field).

Two). Harriet uses 'not kneeling' but 'sitting alongside' as a means to emphasize the advice she is giving to her friend's father. Even though it is secondary to the main subject of female education it plays a key role in reinforcing her point.

These examples are useful for illustrating how narrative arts can offer opportunities for speaking. There is an issue of whether or not it is easier to be resistant about a physical action, a manifestation of power, rather than directly attacking or asserting against the power which underpins the action. Because it is not easy to speak in the face of opposition, young women must find alternative strategies for speaking that are less direct. But in doing so there is the danger of young women not being listened to, because they are using prohibited ways of speaking. Not only is it difficult, in a position of powerlessness, to resist directly, but there may not be any language available for direct resistance, and an action or story can act as a substitute, if adults are willing to listen and facilitate (Hollander and Einwohner 2004).

These images of kneeling resonate with the data about well-behaved young women discussed earlier in the chapter. Good behaviour includes proper greeting, dress and demeanour, and staying close to home (see chapter two, Table 1). Sandra's drawing of a young woman embodies norms of appropriate behaviour for young women. The young woman's hands cross over her stomach, as if she is modestly covering her genitalia, and her dress is long covering much of her legs,

Sandra's 'A girl in Busoga should wear good clothes that covers her all body' (37)

Kneeling relates to societal expectations and issues of regulating Basoga young women's behaviour, including their sexuality (Fallers 1965). In relation to HIV prevention kneeling highlights the difficult challenge faced in tackling gender inequality. It is embodied, embedded, and has important cultural significance. Kneeling is shown in the data as a barrier to young women's voices, although one that is not typically discussed, or even identified. This in itself is an issue as it throws up the problem of addressing the hidden, and kneeling is indicative of other social/cultural norms and barriers relating to young women's voices in negotiation with adults, including adult men, in relation to life choices and sexuality.

5.5 Conclusion

Chapter five began with the theme of domestic work at home depicted as central to young women's daily lives; with the drawing method as a vital form of speaking about work. Young women, whilst depicting the primacy of domestic work, indicate tensions around their traditional role at home and getting an education. Also they indicate concerns for domestic work and poverty. Yet they show a deep awareness of this key role in supporting their families and the society (Sorensen 1996; Kwesiga 1998; Karuhanga-Beraho 2002).

The section on rape and sexual violence is the longest and most detailed in the data chapters, which is appropriate given the prominence of these narratives in the data and the focus of the study on HIV prevention. The narratives provide vivid portrayals about sexual violence. Young women describe where sexual violence takes place (for instance, at the borehole and at school). There are depictions of forced marriage and sexual violence. Rape is linked to infection with HIV/AIDS. Also, young women refer to parents who are helpless to protect their daughters in relation to sexual violence, yet there is also collusion by parents in rape and marriage.

The stories and dramas provided an important means of speaking about the vitally important but difficult subject of sexual violence, bringing it to the fore (Bhattacharya 2009; Blyth 2009). Young women describe dangers and difficulties in a changing society, such as, increased mobility and poverty, as well as tradition in the form of forced, early marriage, as relating to sexual violence. They also criticize young women who behave badly, such as moving around outside the home. Bad behaviour is portrayed as leading to harsh consequences, including infection with HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancy, and being forced to drop out of school. Appropriate behaviour is described as providing some protection but not complete protection within the society; with some young women becoming victims regardless. Thus, young women are judging others in the data; there is a moral tone about bad behaviour, reflecting societal norms. Yet, there are also ambiguities in young women's

voices about bad behaviour; with signs of sympathy, as well as witnessing, advocacy and support for young women's difficult situation.

In the final part of the chapter images of kneeling to greet elders are juxtaposed with narratives of resistance to kneeling. Kneeling, as a Basoga tradition, is a potent symbol of the cultural practices and behaviours expected of young women. Yet, as a gendered custom it reinforces their lack of voice and agency in their lives (Fallers 1965; Tamale 2006). Some of the participants raise issues of the subordination and silencing of young women through kneeling, but it also serves as a focus of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner 2004); a vehicle for assertion about their life choices.

Issues of power emerge from the data in this chapter. There are signs of the silencing and subordination of young women, in relation to cultural norms and gendered violence in the rape narratives and in the kneeling section. Powerful parents are depicted, taking control of decisions about their daughters' lives. But also there are those who are helpless and vulnerable. Powerful men are depicted as having power over young women in relation to sexual violence and traditional marriage, but as shadowy figures they are surprisingly 'absent' in the data. Also there is the issue of differences between young women, with some having stronger voices, and others represented as more vulnerable and silenced.

Issues of empowerment emerge with young women raising concerns for domestic workload and poverty as barriers to their education. Also, there are depictions of young women's efforts to be empowered, through resistance, attempted power reversals, assertive speaking to adults, such as parents, teachers and men. Yet, there are also representations of the obstacles to young women's empowerment. There is the portrayal of the fragility of some lives with young women moving from a happy existence to uncertain or changed circumstances and tragedy; in the face of poverty, loss of education, unwanted marriage, rape, pregnancy and infection with HIV. Young women thus appear to be more or less vulnerable, or more or less empowered, depending on often shifting circumstances, which they have little control over.

The drawings proved to be a persuasive form of visual communication accessible to all the participants, and valuable for uncovering the primacy of domestic work in their lives, an aspect which is frequently neglected (Kwesiga 1998; Banks 2001; Rose 2001). The various attributes of different methods contributed to the variety of themes and issues emerging. The drawings contain layers of meaning including the content of images, but also other attributes such as symbols. For example, in the kneeling images, disproportionate sized figures are depicted symbolizing power differentials between adults and young women (Bell 2001; Rose 2001; Cross, Kabel et al. 2006). The drawings also incorporate other devices such as detail, close ups, which serve to bring forth ideas or highlight what is important to the artists (Pollock 1988). The different methods used in the study offered scope for young women to express themselves as individuals. Grace's picture stands out as she chose a different style from others, depicting a 'rich picture' of her life; and this reflects other differences in visual styles between participants.

Narratives (stories) in chapter five are valuable for uncovering the difficult theme of sexual violence and sexuality. Sexual health is typically difficult to explore and discuss, especially where issues of taboo and stigma are strongly associated (WHO 2002; Dunkle, Jewkes et al. 2004); although the emergence of this theme may well relate to the research being associated with STF and HIV prevention. Also unlike the drawings, narrative method lends itself to such as sexual violence, a crisis event, because the method requires the central device of a significant happening, often in the form of 'trouble', involving the characters in the tale (Clandinin and Connelly 2000; Elliott 2005). Other narrative devices discussed in this chapter are useful for young women talking about their lives, and expressing their personal standpoint (Wylie 2004). Humour for instance is used to critique or resist in the narratives; also to entertain, especially in the case of the dramas.

Language in the narratives was shown to be important, and this is a further benefit of this approach (Bochner 2001). Young women use it to personalize and deepen their portrayals; such as using humourous language about kneeling; or, emotive language about fear of sexual violence or infection with

HIV/AIDS; or, declamatory language about the situation of young women. But there are also indications that they use language that is accepted and shared in society, for instance around bad behaviour, which is negative about young women, and which contributes to gender inequalities and sexual risk (Bhana and Pattman 2009). Also, there is the issue of an absence of language about certain aspects of young women's lives.

Not only does language (and freedom of language) serve an important function in enabling young women's voices to emerge in chapter five, but also their bodies provide a powerful means of expression. The drawings allowed for images of bodies at work, but also power differentials through embodiment, in the form of kneeling and disproportionate figures (Bell 2001; Harcourt 2009). Also, bodies were important in the stories and dramas, for instance, embodied actions are described; such as, 'jumping up and down' to denote trauma, and 'hi-fiving' to denote bad behaviour. As with language and other devices, 'bodies' in the data provide alternative yet potent means of expression, allowing complex, difficult but also personal ideas to emerge (Chisholm 2008).

Young women adapted the methods to their personal style and expression and this indicates that they could serve for young women's multiple views to emerge including in participatory approaches in HIV prevention. Also, young women as storytellers present the standpoint of young women, and in some cases they act as witnesses of the difficulties faced by young women.

The close reading of the material for chapter five was a challenging but rewarding experience. The drawings provided a particular challenge, because of my lack of experience. It required developing what Rose (2001) refers to as a 'good eye' with reference to images. But the captions provided a crucial contribution to the analysis (Diem-Wille 2001; Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005). Ultimately, my earlier investigations of the literature about Basoga culture and young women's lives in Busoga and HIV/AIDS were vital to the close reading, and my efforts to make sense of what young women were saying. I believe that the 'space' of the study involving adult researchers, especially STF staff,

was significant in shaping participants interpretation of how they should work. They know the work of STF well, they know HIV prevention messages well, and therefore it would seem likely that this would play a significant part in shaping their narratives.

What young women said about their lives has important implications for HIV prevention. It can deepen understandings of their situations and viewpoints. They provide complex representations of the intersection of vulnerabilities, such as, domestic work and education, rape and forced marriage, and the negative effects of vulnerability on HIV risk. The fragility of some young women's lives was represented, especially in relation to catastrophic change in circumstances, such as a father losing his job, a parent dying, but also in the event of rape, infection, or unwanted pregnancy and this is related to risk. Their narratives appear to reinforce the importance placed on the protective social environment of family, society, school in relation to HIV prevention (World Health Organization 2004).

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CHAPTER SIX
'A GIRL HAS TO GO FOR EDUCATION'

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six and seven are less substantive data chapters given that there is less research material on these themes, although they are still represented as important to young women. Chapter six focuses on the themes: Going to School (6.2) and Dreams of Future Life (6.3). There is, however, little detail in the data about experiences of going to school, yet there are many references to education as important to young women. The notable exceptions, which provide rich insights into boarding school life, are the diaries of Prisca and Diana. In their aspirational writings education also features as important to young women as a means of gaining access to a professional life of working outside the home.

6.2 Going to School
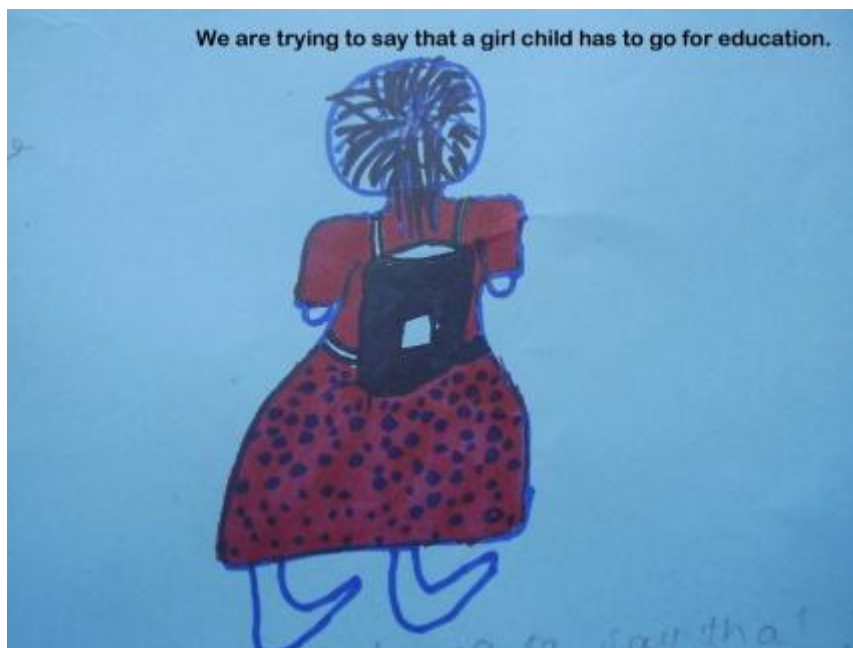
'We are trying to say that a girl child has to go for education', Anna (38)

In her drawing caption above, with its resolute language, Anna states just how important it is for a young woman to have access to education. Her drawing depicts a schoolgirl walking away from the viewer; her school bag is placed centrally on her back. This is a commanding visual representation of young women's desire for education. As with Jessica and Harriet's images also (39 and 40), the school bags and uniforms are potent symbols of getting an education (T. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001).

Desire for school is expressed throughout the data in many of the stories and in the dramas. Yet often this desire is represented in the form of a struggle for education: the daughter in Teresa's story wrestles hard with her family to stay at school (Chapter Five, 5.3,16); in Susan's story the young woman has a conflict with her step mother in her efforts to stay at school (Chapter Seven, 7.2, 63); in the Drama's young women are fighting to continue their education; and in Harriet's story she is struggling to persuade her friend's father to pay school fees (Chapter Five, 5.4, 36). Also, the importance of education is repeated in the Aspirations (see 6.3); and it is strongly associated with getting access to employment outside the home. Furthermore, and related to the opportunities it is seen to provide, education is described as giving young women status. Diana illustrates this issue of status in her story of Veronica, who has dropped out of school to marry. Diana says, *'I hope she would have been an important person in the country'*. She conveys Veronica's desire for education, *'she told me this holiday that she admires school girls' aspiring perhaps to be a schoolgirl again herself'* (Chapter Five, 5.2, 9). Yet, as the story goes on to say, this is now impossible as she has a husband and children to support.

Diana frequently refers to the desirability of her own education in her diary. She describes her happiness that she is at school and her determination to do well in her studies. Prisca, on the other hand, in her diary is more ambivalent about her school experience, describing the problems she faces

(48). She has recently joined a new school to repeat a year due to a bad
school report.

'The girl is going to school', Jessica (39)

'She is going to school', Harriet (40)

As well as young women expressing desire for education, there are examples of parental approval of their daughter's going to school, including expressions of pleasure in their achievements. In Drama One the father notes with approval that his daughter has a good school report,

> *'Her father asks her: 'Which position? Second?' Her mother confirms that she has achieved second place.*
>
> *Her father says 'Thank you very much! I pay for school fees'.*. (Extract, Drama One, 41).

Prisca describes the scene in her diary where she discusses her 'bad' school report with her mother. Her mother says that they must wait for her father to return to discuss it. Her parents say, *'you must repeat Senior 4'* (extract, Prisca's Diary). Prisca is upset but then she calms down and agrees to repeat the year, although it will be expensive for her parents. Her parents are making an effort for their daughter's education, even though it means further financial sacrifice.

Veronica's father (in Diana's Story, Chapter Five, 5.2, 9) is paying her school fees. This is a particularly poignant example, given that he is, 'as poor as a church mouse', reflecting his strong commitment to his daughter's education.

In the example in Drama One below the father, after expressing approval to his daughter, goes on to say that because he has lost his job his daughter will have to leave school,

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Her father asks her: 'Which position? Second?' Her mother confirms that she has achieved second place.

Her father says 'Thank you very much! I pay for school fees. But, next time I don't have money..I have been working in Kampala but these days there is no longer jobs. So I am thinking that you can get married….We have got a man who gave us these things, (he points) these cattle.'

(Extract, Drama One, 41)

Thus, even where a parent supports education for their daughter, they are not necessarily in a position to pay, or their circumstances might change for the worse affecting their ability to continue to pay. In the tale of Veronica, even though her father pays her school fees, this does not prevent her dropping out of school to escape poverty, because of the burdens of domestic workload and having to find other costs (Chapter Five, 5.2, 9).

So, alongside the expressions of desire for education, there are representations of the barriers to education; including the major barrier of poverty and the high cost of education. Some parents struggle to pay school fees (see 42 above), others struggle to find the additional costs required (see Diana's story of Veronica). Veronica movingly compares herself unfavourably with Diana, *'It's because for you, they give you everything'* (Diana's Story, Chapter Five, 5.2, 9).

The tale of Veronica is one of a number (see also the characters in the rape narratives discussed in 5.3) that creates the sense of a real person, a real life, facing great difficulties, and having potentialities that she has not been able to realize because of poverty (Davis 2006). In Diana's hands, because she is an able storyteller, narrative is a very effective means of communication. Yet, her storytelling abilities here are partly because she has educational advantages which give her skills in writing and English, as do some of the other older young women who are attending secondary school at senior levels. This illustrates the important issue of some methods being more accessible to young women's voices than others, with education enabling speaking through these written narratives. Also, Diana speaks as a witness for the situation of other young women, those who are disadvantage and silenced, and as such she represents a key potential role in relation to empowerment and peer support (Ingham and Aggleton 2006) .

As with other some of the other stories in the data, Diana's judgment of Veronica in making the decision to leave school and marry, and her sympathy towards her father, is tempered by understanding as is vividly presented here, *'Her suffering could not have continued since her father could struggle and get fees although he was as poor as a church mouse'.* In other words, whilst saying *'struggle and complete your studies'* and *'utilise what is available'*, she is also acknowledging the difficulties in doing so and that parent and daughters might be helpless in the face of such hostile circumstances. These are further examples of her role as a witness of one young woman's trials. Kitzinger (2007) refers to this role of witness in relation to women's voices as a key part of a feminist activist agenda. Young women appear to speak not only on their own behalf, but also in support of other young women.

In one of Dorothy's images, she also witnesses a young woman's difficult circumstance, referring to her dropping out of school and becoming a prostitute,

> '*a girl facing a problem of school fees. After that she just decide to go on the streets'* (Dorothy's drawing caption, 42).

Paying school fees and finding the considerable additional costs required to attend school are a major part of the problem of access to education for young women (UNICEF 2004; UNICEF 2008). Prisca describes the heavy burden of additional costs for attendance at her school; see her budget below as set out in her diary,

Budget – School Requirements (43)

6 black books	12,000/-
1 dozen of 96 exercise books	2,400/-
6 pens and 6 pencils	900/-
2 pairs of shoes	1,000/-
Shoe polish and brush	
Tooth brush and paste	
Cosmetics and powder	2,000/-
Ream of papers	6,000/-
Transport	
Pocket Money	5,000/-
Tick[19] - Pads	1500
" 96 books	2400
' T/paper (toilet)	1000
" 2 soap bars	1500
" 2 brooms	500
" Cosmetics	1000
" Bathing soap	1500
" G/nuts	3700
" Shoes	1000

These costs, including vital stationery and toiletries, are not a small matter and are mentioned repeatedly in Diana's Diary also; such as, costs for additional transport, exam fees, and to pay for a broken flask.

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[19] The items separated by the word 'Tick' may be those that she has already purchased or has funds to pay for.

Teresa expresses feelings of anger and frustration on behalf of young women in relation to domestic work as another major block to young women attending school (see Chapter Five, 5.2, 11); an issue explored in chapter five, 5.2.

Also, in her story of forced, early marriage and rape (Chapter Five, 5.3, 16), Teresa highlights the issue of marriage as a barrier to education. The reality for many young women in Busoga is typically that they leave school early to marry and have children (Swezey 2004; Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). It seems that these school-going participants are very aware of this and in the data they show concern for the fragility of young women's school attendance, and by doing so demonstrate concerns for their own school attendance. For example, in the situation in Drama One where the father loses his job and cannot afford school fees, there is also a message that because of this loss of income the family need the daughter to marry a man who can give them cattle (see 42 above).

Even for those who can afford secondary education, there are indications that circumstances can change suddenly; as with the father who loses his job (Drama One, 41), or the case of a sick parent or death of a parent (Dramas Two and Three, Harriet's Aspiration, 6.3, 52). Changing circumstances in a family, typically with a reduction in income, can lead to a young woman having to leave school to help at home or marry. This can mean a full and catastrophic end of schooling; or disruption to schooling with years missed and retaken, and an incomplete education. In Drama Three a widow is struggling to manage and explains why she wants her daughters to drop out of school,

> Mother (sitting alone): I am tired of this home. I don't know what I will do. Since their father died, I am tired of the orphans. I don't know what they can bring. I don't want to care for them. I am tired of coping with them. (Calling) Dorothy.
>
> 1st Daughter: Yes Mum (replies in a quiet voice off stage and then joins the mother standing up)
>
> Mother: Please come here.
>
> Dorothy, today you are not going to school and the reason why you are not going to school is that (pause) I want you to do the washing of the dresses.
>
> 1st Daughter: What are you trying to say?
>
> Mother: You are going to wash the dresses.
>
> 1st Daughter (in a quiet voice): Wash the dresses?
>
> Mother: You wash them.
>
> 1st Daughter: I'm not going to wash them.
>
> Mother: Why not?
>
> 1st Daughter: I don't even need to give a reason – since my father has died I have never been happy. So I would like to run.
>
> Mother (standing up): It's OK – You can get married because I'm also tired of you. I'm tired of all orphans in my home. It's OK. If you are looking for someone to marry, you will become the source of income in our family. (Dorothy goes off)
>
> I am tired of all of them. I want all of them to get married, because I'm tired of them. (Extract, Drama Three, 44)

In this extract we sense the hopelessness of the widow. She is unable to cope with looking after her children and puts pressure on her daughters to leave school and marry.

Another barrier to education is represented in Harriet's story about a father's negative attitude to paying for a daughter's school fees, although he is happy to do so for a son's education. In the story Harriet is determined to convince

the father to pay fees for his daughter, who is her friend. It works, her assertiveness and determination pay off, and there is the happiest of outcomes in that the daughter attends school, passes her exams and becomes a teacher demonstrating to the father that it was worth paying for her education. At the end she states, *'So let parents give both young women and boys school fees'* (Chapter Five, 5.4, 36).

The implication of this story is less that the parent does not have the finances to pay fees, but that there is a reluctance to pay for a daughter's education. Harriet makes the point that it is worth investing in a daughter's education because of the advantages she can bring from her employment. However, in an environment of scarce resources daughters take second place to sons in allocation of money for education, given the social expectation that the son will get a job, and therefore the educational investment in a son is worthwhile (Kakuru 2006).

Amongst the study group of young women, three attend primary school, 11 are at secondary school, and one is attending a teacher training college. Of the 11 at secondary school, 6 are at day schools, and 5 attend boarding schools (see Table 3, Chapter Four, 4.3). There are indications in the data that whether a young woman attends day or boarding school can make a difference to her education in this context, by giving her a greater chance of achieving good results. Whilst attending day school young women invariably continue to carry out domestic work morning and evening, in homes which have little in the way of privacy for homework and exam preparation. In her account of boarding school life Diana describes 'prep' time in the dormitory in the evenings and early mornings when she reads and does her school work. This gives her a suitable time, place and space for reflection, and this includes the time that she writes her diary. Yet, boarding school is more costly than day school, and despite the advantages of a place to study away from domestic work it is out of the reach of many.

At the commencement of her diary writing Diana says,

> *'I have received my diary on 2nd/Feb/2007. I am glad because it will be helping to remember past days/months/years of life.* (Extract, Diana's Diary, 45).

In stark contrast to her story of Veronica, Diana describes her own experiences as positive and happy. It includes her diarized joy and relief when her school fees are paid. She starts her diary just before she rejoins school,

> *'4th/Feb/2007 I am very happy because my mother has prepared a very good meal and my father has provided fees for me'* (Extract, Diana's Diary, 46).

A little later on in her diary she describes the burden of additional costs of education, but costs which are important because they can contribute to achievement,

> '*14th/Feb/2007 I am happy because my daddy has brought money today which will help me to pay for extra lessons for maths. This will help me to perform better which is my aim'* (Extract, Diana's diary, 47).

Diana writes her diary every few days from when she receives it in February 2007 until follow up in May 2007. Each entry is a short paragraph length and is a fascinating account of her thoughts about school and the activities she undertakes. She seems to revel in keeping her account. Diana's diary is an intimate account, typical of what is described as an auto-biographical account (Bagnoli 2004). Prisca's diary is different in that it is a log or record including budgets, notes and lists.

The two diary accounts not only adopt different forms but are written in different personal styles, although they bring up common issues like costs of schooling and friendship. Diana's is largely a very positive account of her

experience at school. She talks about her friends who provide her with emotional and financial support, and her enjoyment of studying and achieving good grades. Prisca's, on the other hand, has less about her experiences and feelings. Typical of her style is this record describing,

Girl's problems at school.

- Over reading, they force them to reading without resting.
- Power (electricity) it affects the eyes by use (solar).
- Small compound.
- There is no shelters.
- No enough resting during break, lunch and supper.
- No sharing with fellow students (like boys during free time).
- Lack of bathing rooms ie sharing with.
- There is no discussion groups and lessons.
- No rooms for expansion.
- There is no girls secrets? Like that of Period (pads).

'O'level problems

- Matron is so rude and unfriendly.
- Prefect of dormitory is like the matron.
- Lack of knowledge.
- Over crowding in the dormitory.
- Scarcity of H2O drinking.
- No proper dust brooms.
- Rubbish has no permanent place to be collected.
- No proper organisation about the religious.
- The nurse is so rude that she cannot treat students.
- The librarian is not friendly and it lacks books for revision.
- No enough pocket money for boarding students which force them to be cornered by boys and eventually they fall in love.
- Typhoid is the common disease but no treatment for it.
- Malaria is also cause some effects to students.
- Lack of tap water, It is dirty and then we take that to use (ie drinking).
- Many bad behaved students in boarding season.
- Phones are now allowed ie many boarding and day students have them.
- Contact with teachers is not easy.

(Extract, Prisca's Diary, 48)

The list provides a rich insight into a range of issues at school including issues of health and the school environment.

Level of achievement, grades and qualifications, are mentioned frequently in Diana's diary, and in other data indicating the importance of getting good marks. In Susan's story educational achievement plays a key role,

> *'The girl was very good when it is time for studies but when time went on, the girl did her PLE in 2003 and she got 17 Aggregates'* (Extract, Susan's Story, 49).

However, her grandfather (who she lives with) cannot pay for her to go to secondary school so she is forced to turn to her father and ask for money for school under difficult circumstances, facing much opposition from her step-mother. In the Aspirations it is clear why young women believe that school achievement is necessary; they see it as a pathway to paid employment and ultimately to a good life (see 6.3).

The implications of these voices of desire for education in relation to HIV prevention is positive given that education is considered broadly protective against HIV/AIDS (UNICEF 2004; Pettifor, Levandowski et al. 2008; UNICEF 2008). Yet, the desire is not enough as there are many barriers to young women's education, not only in gaining access to school and remaining at school, but also in terms of educational achievement. Young women face many educational challenges including a high domestic workload; having to re-do years of study which means extra cost to parents; experiencing sexual vulnerability at school and outside, sometimes leading to dropping out of education; and parents and daughters lacking finance for all school costs including non school fees, some of which relate to achievement at school.

If young women do not go to school they face reduced access to many things including information and support on sexual health, which tend to be school based (UNICEF 2008). Also, school can act as an important focus for addressing issues like negative gender norms, developing life skills, and breaking down barriers between young men and women. Young women have status through educational achievement and this can provide them with the means in adulthood to negotiate with husbands to protect themselves and

their children (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002). The young women in this study seem fully aware of the benefits of education, although it may be significant that they are a school attending group. They describe young women as being forced to drop out for reasons of poverty, marriage and pregnancy, and this increases their risk of HIV/AIDS.

6.3 Dreams of Future Lives

Much of young women's aspirational writing is characterized by hopes for the future; Anna refers to becoming a nurse, and preparing for her children's bright future (see 50 below), and Teresa presents a strong vision of becoming a priest (see 51 below). These two powerful accounts mirror the aspirations of other young women. Most of the young women (14 out of the 15) mention a professional life in their aspirations, with 8 referring to becoming a nurse or a doctor. Others refer to becoming a teacher, a bank manager, and a police woman. Also, 6 out of the 15 mention a home, marriage, and children; with some referring to helping parents, lack of parents, a sick parent, and a resistant family and community. There are some indications that role models are important to young women's aspirations; for instance, see Anna's vivid imagery about Mulago nurses (50), and Diana refers to her uncle, an accountant, as her role model. It would seem that young women's aspirations are probably of a very different life from that of their mothers and the traditional life of a Musoga woman, with the major difference being that of access to education.

Anna presents a strong and visually-rich impression in her dream of becoming a nurse. She vividly describes the experience of seeing nurses at Mulago Hospital in Kampala in their pink uniform dresses with their white collars. The imagery in the language about their dress is noteworthy as it illustrates the impact they had on her. She conveys the sense that she is visualizing herself in this role in a very striking, imaginative and 'real' way. The imagery in the aspiration narratives serves to show the power of these symbols of change and preferred choice for young women (T. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001). It appears to reflect the strong emotions Anna feels about her choices. She can even envisage herself filling in a request for a job as a nurse. But then, in the narrative there is the realization that there is an issue of school fees and so many other problems which are discouraging,

Once upon a time, when I was still young by that time I was in primary two – when my dad took me to Kampala for a long holiday. When I came to our place I had a vision coming into my mind coming true that I have to be a nurse working in Mulago hospital. I was dressing a pink dress with white collar treating people and by that time I was filling in forms requesting for a job in Mulago hospital.

When [I] am a nurse I have to be with a children on my own. Their father must be a business man so that we can prepare for them a bright future. My children must study from a boarding school as my father did to me.

There are challenges which are discouraging me from achieving my dream. These include:

School fees and so many others.

But the dream remains I have to be a nurse in future and all of my life in this future world.

(Anna's Aspiration, 50)

Teresa's account is quite different from Anna's, and indeed is different from any of the other aspirations. Teresa's is the longest written piece on a future life. She describes the church as playing an important part in her life. In her aspiration of becoming a priest her vision is one of evangelism, mobility, preaching, and '*writing Christian literature'*. Her vision does not contain references to income, making a home, looking after a family and parents. As well as reflecting an important aspect of Ugandan society in terms of the role of 'faith', her personal identity comes across strongly in her words and in doing so illustrates the multiple identities in the study, reflected in the different desires and opinions. Thus the method, aspirational writing, allows for personal identity and voice to emerge in a powerful and individualistic way. As a narrative method it resonates with empowerment approaches, such as 'life skills' including confidence building techniques, 'revealing' the self and identity formation (Mathur 2001; Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005).

The story about my vision in future

In my future I would like to become a priest though I don't know more about God's word but still I pray very hard so that he could help me to do his work successfully.

Because he himself is the one who ordered us to spread his gospel to the people in order to bring them back to him. So what I have in my vision is that I have to fulfil his commandments in order for me to get eternal life.

And in order for me to be successful in such a job, I wish to do the following tasks in future.

Firstly, I will make sure that I preach the word of God to every person, every tribe, and if possible to the whole world in order to bring people to God.

Secondly I will make sure that most of my life will be spent in sharing things with the needy people because God ordered us to help needy people.

I will also encourage the people in future to plant more trees for constructing churches and this will help me to convert many people to God as I can.

But not only that, but I am also planning that in future also to be successful, I will also encourage the people to have love to one another as God commanded and not to have discrimination among one another, ie, discrimination among Moslems and Christians.

However, though all things could happen in future, there might also be some challenges or problems I might face and among these include the following:

What I know is that in future it might be hard for me to convert people to Christianity as Islamic religion would have already been spread among people at that time.

Secondly is that in future I may also face a problem of transport costs as I will be travelling from one place to another preaching the word of God.

The other thing which I may also suffer from is that there will be general lack of enough funds for me to expand the God's kingdom.

Writing Christian literature like the bible, magazines would also limit my time in future which would be used for doing other things.

But what I pray hard is that let God the almighty help me so that I become successful in vision.

(Teresa's Aspiration, 51)

Anna and Teresa express aspirations of hope, but others are less hopeful or they describe difficulties that they will face in their future lives. Harriet's Aspiration is written in the form of a dream narrative. She is dreaming about becoming a bank manager, but the central focus of her dream is the tender conversation with her mother, who is very sick. Her dream is a compelling device for expressing her hopes for her own future, but also her fears about her mother, which she conveys with some emotion,

> One night I was sleeping on my bed and I was a deep sleep. I dream about to become a bank manager. But I was very very very happy and told my mother about it (and) she told me that you pray hard to God so that I can be around. The things which will let down my dream are these –
>
> In my subject math is my problem and it is important.
>
> Another thing is about school fees. This thing can make my dream not to go through because my mother she is sick.
>
> Another thing is about our family members – they don't want us to study.
>
> (Harriet's Aspiration, 52)

The strong emotional content in this aspiration allows Harriet, (as with the other young women) to express her feelings in a relatively safe space, but crucially one that is flexible and open-ended. In relation to empowerment it allows not only for personal identity and choices to emerge and be explored, but also for personal feelings and difficult issues to arise from multiple representations and circumstances (Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005).

Harriet also refers to the importance of education, as do many of the others, if she is to achieve her goal. She indicates that her mother supports her going to school, but other members of her family do not; implying that if her mother is no longer around she will not longer be supported in her studies. Perhaps significantly, her story tells of a father not wanting to pay school fees for a daughter, and the content of her aspiration resonates with this theme.

Sandra has her wishes for the future, but she believes that there are matters in her life that will hold her back. She writes a dark vision of her future,

I wish I could have been a lawyer or a pastor in future.

But the reasons to why I may not be so are –

My fell(ow) students always (are) jealous. Whichever something I do pains them they don't want me to be happy.

And I hear people saying that since my father had died why cant my stepmother stop me from schooling, so that I can lose my future.

And my grand mother says that she wishes they could send me away from the clan because I saved person.

I don't (have) enough school fees and so school requirements like –

Books
Shoes
Uniform, etc.

And I am being forced by people to do bad thing so that I can like God like - Abusing me, Talking bad thing on me.

(Sandra's Dream, 53)

She creates a strong sense of conflict, difficulties and unhappiness. In terms of the aspiration method, I consider both the words of hope but also those of perceived difficulties as important for further exploration by young women and others and as a means for personal and collaborative reflection (Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005; Urdang 2007).

There are also references in the aspirations to a preferred domestic life. This includes marriage, to one man, and children, but a smaller family size seems preferred to that of the traditional Basoga family size. Prisca provides considerable detail in her aspiration about education, employment, a home and her wedding,

IN MY VISION

In my vision I pray that God helps my father to have enough money for me to study ahead as I think. It seems that my father will get money for my school fees and I continue to study my HC (higher certificate) in a certain school and I want to be in a boarding school as I dreamed. After my HC I would like to continue up to any university. I had my friend talking about university that there is life for everybody who can join university.

At university I want to take principle combination of physician.

A physician is a person who is concerned with medical institutions like nursing, being a doctor, being a midwife – where a midwife is a person who treats women to deliver their child/baby. After being a physician in my future ahead I want to buy land and I build my house and then on my house I want to put there a kitchen, garage, boys' quarters and that for renters. After building then if I have money and enough capital I want to be (------?) and to be married. If I get a man who will marry me we first go for HIV/AIDs blood testing. Then after if we are all negative we get married by introduction and then wedding.

After wedding I would look after my parents and also to prepare my parents' home like printing, cementing and to build around a fence. And there after I would be looking for my home and for my parents.

A vision from Prisca. (Prisca's Aspiration, 54)

Bena's Aspiration is mostly focused on the idea of home, husband and children,

I want to be mother in a home I marriage a man.

I want to be mother in a family home.

A man is father and woman is mother. Her reproduce the children in a home.

(?)the mother said the children go wash the cups and go in the school – go to sleep – in the night I dream.

I want to be a doctor.

I feel that I like it very much since in (?) school or in education in around p2 up to now.'

(Bena's Aspiration, 55)

Some of the young women describe the kind of husband they wish to marry: a 'rich man', 'a business man', not an 'uneducated man'. Diana, in her aspiration, significantly refers to becoming an accountant to ensure that she is able to support the family, as she anticipates her husband may not have the education or means to do so.

Dorothy also provides considerable detail about her desired future life; including references to (later) age of marriage and (smaller) family size,

In my future I would like to be a teacher who is a professional and I would like to have married at age of 24 years when I have finished to plan for my children and I would like to have 4 children so that I can be able to take care for them eg, shelter, fees, clothes, etc. and to be getting married. I will ensure that I take care for my parents because there are the ones who are going to make me what I want. But there is a problem of fees and time and some elders who don't want me to study might curse me – those are the problems which I may get in my future.

 (Dorothy's Dream, 56)

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The aspirations in relation to HIV prevention are broadly positive with references to delaying marriage as a good thing, and signs of desire for education. There is a sense that education is a root into a professional life, and that such a professional life, which is largely unavailable to young women and is also difficult for young men, is highly desirable as a means of a secure and happy life. There are also indications of changing expectations in domestic life; such as the desirability for one husband, perhaps reflecting the decline in polygyny and arranged marriage. Also, there are indications of a desire for fewer children; which fits with the agenda of an unmet need for contraceptives (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006). But also, amongst the hopes and desires, there are signs of the difficulties and limited nature of life choices, especially relating to education.

6.4 Conclusion

In the drawings, stories, dramas and aspirations a desire to go to school is represented, often in the form of a struggle for education. Young women face challenges of poverty and the high cost of education. Change in circumstances in a family, is also portrayed as forcing young women to drop out of school, sometimes to marry or because of lack of school fees. Education is described as giving young women status, providing a much valued pathway to employment outside the home. Parental approval for daughters' education was portrayed in some narratives, but this depended on their financial means, and some parents did not support a daughter's schooling. Education and employment were described in the aspirations as providing financial security for them and their children, and enabling them to help their parents.

Different experiences of schooling of young women in the same age group are portrayed: young women who are in or out of school; at different levels of education; and attending different types of school. School type and level is depicted as having an effect on educational achievements. Although

education is an important theme in the data, there is little description of school life; with the notable exception of the two diaries of Prisca and Diana. Young women's concerns for educational and livelihoods opportunities match with what are seen as important pathways to their empowerment (Urdang 2007). Parents, and the financial situation of parents, are described as playing a key role in access to education and educational achievement.

As with chapter five, the drawings, dramas and stories provide rich narratives on life themes. Young women use imagery about education and their future lives (visual and word based) to emphasize what is important to them: education is symbolized in the images of school bag and uniforms; professional life is symbolized and given heightened importance in the word based imagery about Mulago nurses. These potent representations are symbolic of their desires and aspirations (Rose 2001; T. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001). Also, the narratives enable young women to portray the key characters in their education and future lives, particularly parents and their role for instance in paying school fees. Husbands are also referred to in the aspirations but in a limited way (see also Chapter Seven, 7.3 for a discussion about Men).

Two further methods were introduced in this chapter: that of the individual diaries (Elliot 1997; Bagnoli 2004) and aspirational writing (Mathur 2001; Urdang 2007). The diaries provided a rich and detailed source about school life, and a rich means of speaking for the two diarists. It was perhaps notable that the diary keepers attended boarding school, with time and space to write, as well as having a sufficient level of writing skills for auto-biographical method (Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005). The diary method proved to be a strong means for expressing personal identity and for the diarists' voices. Interestingly, the diary method, as with the other methods, was interpreted in different ways by the two participants, demonstrating the scope for flexibility in the method as a means of personal expression and emergence of individual voices (Elliott 2005; Davis 2006).

The issue of differences between the young women's voices in the study is not only highlighted in the diary method; it is also apparent in the stories and aspirations. This relates to education levels, but also to personal style. The diary method offers the most opportunity for speaking and being heard in the research, given that it is extensive, and intensely personal and individualistic (Bagnoli 2004).

Some of the young women adopted roles as advocates and witnesses for other young women in their writings, showing sympathy and understanding. Kitzinger (2007) refers to 'witnessing' as an important role in a feminist activist agenda as part of a change agenda which involves supporting other women. The study highlights the inevitability of some young women having a limited voice; especially those who are out of school, but it may also relate to personal style. The study indicates where there may be ways forward through such methods in participation in HIV prevention. .

Aspirational writing also provides a rich method for the participants' voices. It is a method which seems as accessible as story-writing, requiring similar skills. Different styles and content emerged from the aspirational writing; including different narrative types, such as narratives of hopes for the future, but also those of unhappiness and fear. As an enabling method for voices, aspirational writing was shown to offer some benefits in terms of providing opportunities for personal identity formation, for multiple voices to emerge, and for expression of personal feelings, as well as a space to present difficult issues (Rubenson, Hanh et al. 2005; Urdang 2007). Also, it reinforced the benefits of considering not just young women's current perspectives on their lives, but also on their future lives (Mathur 2001; Urdang 2007).

Young women mention the many barriers to education and this is a major concern for HIV prevention, given the central role of education in empowering young women (UNICEF 2004). In terms of HIV prevention young women's representations contribute to understanding the complexities of their struggles to get an education from their perspective. It is important to have an awareness of what young women think and say about education and their

futures, relating these to ways forward for HIV prevention strategies (UNICEF 2004).

CHAPTER SEVEN
'COUNSELLING WITH THE MOTHER HOW TO BEHAVE WHILE IN THE SOCIETY'
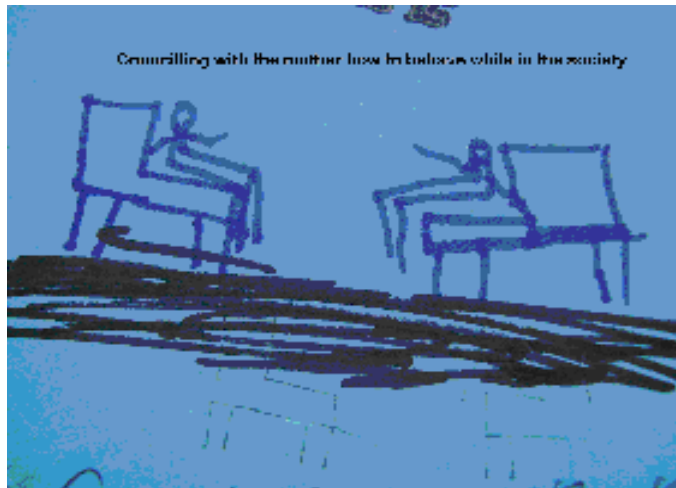
'Counselling with the mother how to behave while in the society', Prisca (57)

7.1 Introduction

In chapter seven representations of people and relationships in young women's lives are explored. This mainly concerns depictions of parents and daughters in different guises, and of interactions between parents and daughters (7.2). Parents are depicted in considerable detail, sometimes with sympathy but also with criticism. I also touch on portrayals of both adult and young men, but they are notably 'shadowy' figures with minimal detail and few interactions (7.3). Friends and friendship with other young women are presented as important in the data (7.4). The dramas, as well as the stories and diaries, play a prominent part in the portrayals of people and relationships which is understandable given the central place of 'characterization', 'relating' and 'voice' in these methods (Boje 2002).

7.2 Parents and Daughters

Parents are much in evidence in young women's words, images and performances and they are portrayed in different guises. They earn criticism from young women, but also there are expressions of understanding and sympathy towards parents. There appear to be complex emotions and concerns associated with parents and these are represented in various ways. For example, see the image of a daughter counselling with her mother above (57) and the contrasting image of a girl being mistreated apparently by a mother or guardian,

'A girl being mistreated', Frances and Diana (58)

Mothers and fathers are depicted separately and together, in conversation with each other, and also with their daughters. For example, Prisca's parents wait until they are together to discuss the important matter of her repeating a school year (Prisca's Diary). Also, the parents in Drama One speak together to their daughter about dropping out of school and marrying to help the family. Similarly they are portrayed as combined in their grief when she is found to be pregnant and infected with HIV/AIDS,

Mum: Dad, she has not come back for 2 years.

Dad: I would like to see her. Maybe she's got sickness from there. You know – you might find that man infected with HIV.

Mum: I think she is coming back today.

Dad: I think she is coming – she's on the way.

Daughter comes in – she is pregnant.

Mum: Come in (pause). Oh my daughter!

Dad: Hey, she is big enough. Have you been sick? (touching her arms) What have you been suffering from?

Mum: It might be AIDs.

Dad: It might be AIDs. She might be HIV positive.

(Extract, Drama One, 59)

As well as facing issues together in relation to their daughters, there are also signs of differences of opinion between parents. For instance, Harriet's mother supports her education, while there are indications that other family members do not. In Susan's story, there are different views between the young woman's father and her stepmother about her education (63 below).

Other authority figures, some of whom are guardians, are depicted; such as step-parents, grandparents and an uncle. There is also mention of parents who have died. In Dramas Two and Three the central parental character is that of a widowed mother. In Susan's story there is reference to the death of the young woman's mother when she was 5 years and this is shown to have had a significant effect on her life.

Gender seems to be of less significance than generation in these representations of parents, with the parental-authority role of paramount importance. However, mothers are portrayed more than fathers; with

conversations between mothers and daughters central to Dramas Two and Three and mothers are depicted more fully in the drawings. Notably there is only one male image, perhaps that of a father (see Prisca's drawing, chapter five, 5.4, 31), out of the 69 separate images. This resonates with Swezey's findings (2004) concerning Basoga young women staying close to their mothers (Chapter Two, 2.3, Table 1).

Some representations depict parents as supportive of young women, particularly in relation to getting an education. Diana is most grateful for her father paying her school fees (Diana's Diary). Despite being sick, Harriet's mother supports her daughter's dream for the future (Harriet's Aspiration). In Drama One the father and mother show appreciation for their daughter's good school report. Prisca's parents support her in repeating a school year, despite the extra cost (Prisca's Diary).

There are also examples of parents who are helpless and vulnerable in the face of great difficulties, meriting sympathy and understanding from daughters. Drama Three begins with the widow declaiming,

Mother (sitting alone): I am tired of this home. I don't know what I will do. Since their father died, I am tired of the orphans. I don't know what they can bring. I don't want to care for them. I am tired of coping with them.

(Extract, Drama Three, 60)

Thus, through the medium of the mother's own voice in the drama, the young women as playwrights appear to empathize with her hopelessness and difficulties. Here the drama method serves to expose this sense of sympathy and recognition very effectively through the means of writing and performing being a parent. This attribute within drama is a valuable means for young women to represent what they feel and think about parents (Dalrymple 2006; Etherton and Prentki 2006).

Depictions of parents are prominent in the narratives of sexual violence. Parents in these encounters seem to be either helpless to protect their daughters (for example, the parents in Bena's story of rape); or colluding in rape within or before marriage (see Teresa's story of rape and marriage); or they are angry and feel helpless in relation to a badly-behaved daughter. In Drama Two the widowed mother discusses her problem daughter with a neighbour and then calls on her brother to assist,

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Mum: Welcome

Neighbour: Thank you

Mum: Have a seat How's there?

Neighbour: Its fine

Mum: But – here I think is not fine. I don't have any joy. She has become a problem to me. I even wonder why I produced her. She minimizes me. She doesn't want to do any work.

Neighbour: Tell your daughter to go and marry.

Mum: Oh my neighbour! Tell my daughter to marry! You cant be serious. I can't. But, I think the solution is…I take her to her Uncle.

[Uncle enters and sits.]

Mum: Your welcome brother. How is there?

Uncle: Its ok

Mum: The problem I have and the reason I have called you here is my daughter. She has become a problem to me – she doesn't want to listen to me; and she walks up and down the whole day; she doesn't want to work; she doesn't want to go to school – At least you can help me and take her. I'm tired of her.

(Extract, Drama Two, 61)

Again, through the medium of the drama a mother's anger and concern are expressed and explored, adding to the multi-faceted portrayals of parents. The value of this is that it deepens understandings of young women's views

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about parents. Also, it indicates issues which have significance for HIV prevention, such as respect for and understanding the protective position of parents, or resistance towards parental control where these might have a negative impact on daughter's sexual lives.

Also, there is the image of the 'harsh parent'. Teresa's story is particularly effective in illustrating this persona. She uses the device of parental standpoint and a particular voice in the story to explore but also critique their role,

> *'And one day, one morning, the father together with the mum decided to call up the girl by their sight and what was out of them was that they took the situation which had happened to the girl as a joking matter'* (Extract, Teresa's Story, 62).

The critique centres on the portrayal of them treating what has happened to the daughter (repeated rape) *'as a joking matter',* implying a lack of regard for their daughter and a poor understanding for the harm they have done. Also, in Susan's story below, the longest of the narratives, a central theme is of conflict between a daughter and a step-mother over education,

---

I am writing a story about a girl child in our school. There was a girl who is now 18 years old and she is going in senior four this year 2007. Our mother died when she was still young of 5 yrs and she was in primary one. She used to live with her father and then her father got a wife when she was 7 yrs old and by then she was in primary three. Her step mother start(ed) abusing her and refused her father to educate the girl and giving her things to use. The girl started to live in a bad condition. After all, the girl went to her grandfather in a place known as Buyala. Her grandfather started educating her and the girl went to primary four.

The girl was very good when it is time for studies but when time went on, the girl did her PLE [exams] in 2003 and she got 17 Aggregates. By that time her grandfather was not having the money to educate her in secondary and the girl (went) to her father to ask for some money to educate her in secondary and the girl (went) to her father to ask for some money for fees. When she reached there, her father (was) very happy for (his) daughter and gave her the money for fees and bought some clothes for her.

Cont/…

When the girl went back to the grandfather, the mother was very annoyed while cooling with the father. The girl did not mind about that. She started schooling in school called St Stephen SS and she was promoted to senior two in 2005. She went back to her father again for fees. When she reached there, she gave her father the report and the father thanked (his) daughter for having studied well. And the mother started cooling with the girl there and then immediately. After that mother even started abusing the father and at the same time got hot water and poured to the girl while in the house and she rocked the house and went to school to teach the pupils when the father was not knowing what has happened to (his) daughter. However, the father in great live with (his) daughter with time he also started abusing the girl and he refused to give fees and even the transport to go back to her grandfather. The mother told the girl to start working as a school girl – when she was ever abusing her, talking about her mother who died long time ago.

One day, the girl woke up in the morning, dressed (in) her clothes and start(ed) moving from Kampala to Buyala (where) her grandfather was. When she reached Jinja she already spent two days on the way and she found a man who helped her and (gave) her 3000/- [Ugandan shillings] for transport and lunch. The girl was very happy and by then she remembered her father – how he was loving her (a) long time ago and she used 1000/- for transport and 500/- for lunch. When she reached to her grandfather – for she was very tired and she became sick for a week.

When she told her (grand)father what where she went, the (woman – does she mean grandmother?) just started crying and went to school to talk to the headmaster and the headmaster told the girl to start working on the school compound while schooling.

Later she was promoted to senior three and she started MP – periods. Yet she was looking things to use and she stated loving boys because she wanted to look like some girls in the society. With time she got pregnant with a man who has a wife yet she was going in senior four this year. So my dear girls – if you have a boy lover please use condom in order to plan for your future.

(Susan's Story, 63)

This detailed account presents a harsh and vivid history of a young woman's relationship with her stepmother through the description of her resistance to her step-daughter getting an education, even to the point of physical violence and dispute with her husband.

The depiction of a 'traditionalist' parent appears somewhat overlapping with that of 'harshness'; for instance, there is the father who does not want to pay for a daughter's schooling (Harriet's Story); Sandra's aspirations are presented as being opposed by her family and the community; and there are parents who arrange marriage for their daughters. However, there are signs in the representations of a tension between parents making a decision which affects their daughters for the benefit of the family as a whole; and what might be in the best interest of a daughter's wellbeing. See for instance Drama One where the father, having lost his job, reluctantly makes the decision to marry his daughter to a rich man with cattle. In doing so he puts in place the conditions which lead to her downfall as a result of becoming infected with HIV/AIDS. Yet, he does not have agency to do otherwise.

Clearly parental power is a key feature here reflected in many ways. In the narratives it is reflected variously in the power of parents to send their daughters to school, or keep them at home and arrange marriage. Parents are thus presented as having power over young women, especially in relation to strategic life choices. But, also daughters are shown to have some 'power' in the form of resistance or bad behaviour. In Drama Two for instance a mother loses control of her daughter who has withdrawn her labour and roams around outside the house; she is also rude 'minimizing' her mother (61 above).

However, there are signs in the data that such exercising of power through resistance or rebellion is likely to 'backfire' on young women. As a result they may find themselves at risk. Anna's words mirror a number of such warnings to young women of the importance of respecting parents,

> *'I conclude by saying that gals take care of your lives and respect your parents at home to achieve your bright future life with flying colours'* (Extract, Anna's Story, 64).

In some of the narratives young women are able to enlist the support of adults other than parents to help them. For example, the young woman in Susan's

story goes to stay with her grandfather; and in Harriet's dream she speaks to her mother who supports her, unlike other members of the family.

Power relations between parents and daughters are vividly depicted in the conversations that take place in the dramas. Drama serves as an important means for exploring these power dynamics through dialogue, role play, and performance. Power relations are manifest in various ways: with daughters kneeling or not kneeling to parents; and different kinds of speaking between daughters and parents indicating issues of power, such as daughters staying quiet or speaking out, and parents shouting or speaking authoritatively.

As well as parents being represented in different guises, there are multiple representations of daughters in the data. There are well behaved and badly behaved daughters; helpless and silent daughters; outspoken and angry daughters. Also there is the memorable depiction of the lively, funny and talkative daughter in the character of Resty (Chapter Five, 5.3, Frances' Story, 23). There are also depictions of young women enjoying life; such as Diana's own reflections on her life in her diary and Bena's images of a young woman reading and dancing,

'The girl is reading the book', 'The girl is dancing', Bena (65)

The well behaved daughter appears to be one who kneels to adults and fulfils her duty to her family through work and school; although this may conflict with parents' decision for her to drop out of school and marry. She also achieves a professional life, looks after parents as they age, marrying well and supporting her children. The badly behaved daughter on the other hand, is depicted as one who resists doing her domestic tasks and does not kneel to

elders. She may drop out of school and move around, mixing with young men and getting pregnant, or worse, getting infected with HIV/AIDS. Yet, as discussed in chapter five, there are some ambiguities in these portrayals. For instance, sometimes, despite a daughter behaving well, she may experience personal crisis such as arranged marriage, rape and infection with HIV/AIDS.

As with parents, the drama method (also stories) provides scope for young women to 'role play' different types of daughter and their different voices (Etherton and Prentki 2006; Cahill 2010). In Drama One, the daughter is a very muted figure, who says little throughout the disastrous change of circumstances that affect her, starting with her school report, then her father's announcement of loss of job, and her arranged marriage. In this extract she is taken to her new home by her husband,

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Man: This is my place, here is the bedroom, sitting room, where you can cook from, the bathroom..you can change. Let me go for work. You can stay and do your work.

Daughter kneels and protests quietly to herself.

Man: I am back. How is here? But, you look sick! Are you sick?

Daughter: This means AIDs.

Man (shouting); You are infected?

Daughter (pauses): You are the one…

Man (shouting): I am the one? Me, I am not the one, maybe you! We should go for testing.

(Extract, Drama One, 64)

Even though the drama presents the husband as at fault for infecting his wife with HIV/AIDS, the daughter merely says, *'You are the one….'.* This is a muted response to the bad behaviour of her husband.

On the other hand, an outspoken daughter emerges in Drama Three, speaking forcefully to her mother and to a rapist. She is voicing her opposition but in a different way to the more humourous and cheeky daughter in Drama Two who refuses to kneel. There is a sense, in the assertive role play and voice, of a young woman trying to be listened to by adults; by speaking in adult language, voice and body. The implication is that the 'adult' voice is more likely to be heard than the 'cheeky' voice. Unfortunately, the signs that it will work are not promising. These multiple role plays and voices contribute to the complex and multi-dimensional picture of daughters and their parents in the dramas. The issue of the different voices of the people in young women's lives comes through strongly in performance; as well as their personal styles. Furthermore, some of the older young women depicted themselves as daughters who are more forthright and confident, perhaps reflecting their age, compared to younger participants.

WHO (2002) describe parents as playing a key part in a protective environment, in relation to HIV/AIDS. The representations of parents and daughters, support this with some parents as supportive and protective, but also helpless or harsh parents putting their daughters in a position of risk. The data indicates that not only do some parents face difficult circumstances in terms of poverty and unpredictability, reducing their ability to protect their daughters. But also the picture is complicated by issues of tradition, parental absence and sickness, the changing social environment in terms of young women's expectations and behaviours, and this makes for a more challenging environment for parenting, as well as for their daughters. Here through the dramas there are indications of strategies emerging which could form the basis for work on these important relationships in relation to HIV prevention. Issues that might be further developed include respect for parents' efforts and difficulties, but also indications of the need for parents to respect daughters, and grounds for effective transactions between parents and daughters (Mannion 2010)..

7.3 Men

Unlike the portraits of parents and young women, those of men are shadowy or lacking in detail. Men are depicted variously as rapists, husbands, teachers, and there are a few references to fellow pupils and boyfriends. Yet, this 'absence' is at odd with their key roles in young women's lives, including in sexual relations. Despite the lack of detail about men, there are some indications of young women's viewpoints and concerns in the way they are portrayed in the dramas and stories. In Drama Three for instance, as well as using cocky language the rapist adopts a cocksure pose with hand on hip,

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Man (enters and takes a seat): Now, it is time to look for a girl. I am going to look. (He sees the second daughter coming and stands up with hand on hip). She is the one.

Hello young girl.

2nd Daughter: Hello

Man: How are you?

2nd Daughter: I am fine.

Man: I have been looking for a girl, now I have met you. So, I love you.

2nd Daughter (hand on hip and in a surprised and contemptuous voice): Think about what you have said!

Man (repeats with his hand on hip): I love you.

2nd Daughter: You are even lying. You find your level best. I'm not even your size. You are not my age. How can I love you? How can my family hear that I love such a man? Don't even familiar me.

Man: Now, if you receive me…..(and he grabs her).

2nd Daughter (cries): Mummy, Mummy – help me! (they go off).

(Extract, Drama Three, 65)

It is also the daughter's reaction, with her use of a contemptuous tone and language, which alerts the audience to the young women's viewpoint. As discussed in chapter five, rapists are depicted in different guises. For instance, in Drama Three the rapist is a stranger meeting a young woman away from home. In Teresa's story the rapist is an older prospective husband; and there is the gang of young men who commit rape in Sandra's story. There is relatively little detail about these figures, except that we know that they have physical power over young women.

Husbands are also depicted in different ways in the data. As well as the rapist-husband there is the husband in Drama One who gives many cattle as a brideprice for marrying the daughter. His voice in the performance communicates to the audience the sense of a harsh husband. He is distant and angry, giving the sense of someone older, but also creating a very negative impression of his poor attitude and demeanour towards his young wife. His words are dismissive,

> '*This is my place, here is the bedroom, sitting room, where you can cook from, the bathroom..you can change. Let me go for work. You can stay and do your work*' (Extract, Drama One, 66).

Later he shouts at his wife when he realizes she is sick with HIV/AIDS. Even though we are told by the daughter that he is the one that has infected her, yet he is the one who is accusatory, whilst the daughter remains quiet and passive. This negative depiction, a 'caricature' of a harsh husband, shows contempt for the man through the device of his own 'bad' behaviour and voice. This is in stark contrast to the quietness and acceptance of the young woman.

The most positive male figure in the data is that of 'father'. Diana's affection and gratitude for her father is positively portrayed in her diary. In Susan's story the young woman appears to have a good relationship with her father, although this is challenged by her stepmother. Anna goes with her father to Kampala providing a sense of a shared experience between father and

daughter. Veronica's father (in Diana's Story) pays for her school fees despite his poverty.

There are few descriptions of fellow pupils or boyfriends. Once again, Diana's diary (also in Prisca's diary) provides a rich source on this subject,

 'I found there a boy and he told me that 'I love you'. I told him that I can love an 'O' level boy yet I am in 'A' level. In addition to that I have a boy friend. All that from Diana. He said that if I don't agree with, he will rape me but all the same I was firm. I told him that I will report him to the sch administration and he requested for forgiveness. He told me that he was joking but I couldn't listen. At the end I forgave him. Pliz my fellow girls don't accept to do something by force'.

'Some boys and girls still come but don't even take the trouble to read. Girls mostly visit their boyfriend and boys look for jack fruits. Oh sorry for their parents who waste their money and in addition to that they are deceived. I wish if God helps their parents and they know, there may be bright.'

'I am annoyed with boys and girls who waste their time instead of studying for their exams. It is not fair to parents who are required to spend so much money on their schooling which might be wasted.' (Diana's Diary)

The ideas emerging in these extracts include a sense of teasing and contemptuous interplay between young women and young men. There is humour, and a sense of greater equality, with less of the 'difference' or separateness and power associated with older men. Although young men are still depicted as having power over young women, such as offering threat of sexual violence, even when this is presented as playful.

The resulting effect of the portrayal of men in the narratives is largely a negative one (with the exception of fathers). There are no positive sexual exchanges between men and young women, and given the importance of positive gender relations in HIV prevention, this would seem to be an important area for further exploration and development.

7.4 Friends

'During evening hours we have discussion with our friends', Prisca (65)

Although parents and daughters are the most prominent 'characters' in the data, friends are also present and represented as important in young women's lives. Relationships with friends are especially vividly portrayed in Diana's diary. She describes the critical financial support that her school friend's provide,

'Today my friend Dorah has brought me a toilet paper which I am supposed to give the class teacher before receiving my gate pass. I am happy because she has saved 800/- for me. And as you know school life 800/- is too much because if you spend 200/- like me for every breakfast, then these are four days all in all let God bless Dorah.' (Extract, Diana's Diary, 66)

In a further extract she captures the concept of friendship as she sees it,

'Since I was born, I have never seen a merciful person like Olivia because the money she had was for fees but she decided to give me since payment of fees has no deadline and we have some weeks to exams. Among friends there are friend(s) but Olivia, Dorah, Suzan and Veronica are my real friends. Since a friend in problems is indeed a friend and whenever I have a problem they feel concerned. If possible, they solve. I too I am ready to help them in any bad situation I can help. Please I appeal to everybody get real friend(s) but not 'friends'.' (Extract, Diana's Diary, 67)

Here she is describing friends as helping her when she has a problem, and that she must reciprocate when they need help, this being a sign of 'real' friendship. She urges other young women to similarly 'get real friend(s)', friendship for her means helping and supporting each other.

As well as describing friends as a vital support financially, she indicates that they are important emotionally in times of need. But she also recognizes that friends may not be able to make a difference in a major crisis; there is little that they can do except provide sympathy and prays.

This idea of young women advising and supporting other young women is a recurring theme in the data. It resonates with the responsibility young women describe in relation to their families. The issue of friends and friendship also resonates with ideas and practice of peer support and education in HIV prevention (Campbell and Aggleton 1999; Ingham and Aggleton 2006). It offers complex ideas of friendship in young women's lives, which are multi-dimensional and which go beyond the instrumentalist nature of typical approaches to peer support and other roles, perhaps offering scope for further exploration and development in HIV prevention.

7.5 Conclusion

The main content theme of this chapter was that of interactions between parents and daughters, with the data offering a rich mix of issues. The idea of 'characterization' is reflected here with young women creating a sense of a 'real' world where people play a crucial role in their lives, and ultimately in what happens to them in sexual relations. The dramas, as well as the stories, were vital as a means of presenting these relationships and 'characters'. Not only were young women able to characterize 'young woman' they also stepped out of this position, into that of others, such as father or husband. This was a valuable means for them to explore people and relationships in their lives. It gave them a chance to use different kinds of voice to those of 'young woman'; such as the voice of a parent or rapist and this can form the basis for further exploration. Cahill (2010) found in her experiences of

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participatory drama that actors tend to depict the societal status quo rather than offering up challenge or even diversity. Yet, here counter narratives did emerge in the young women's representations, perhaps reflecting their own desire for change, and these could provide a basis for exploration within a change agenda. In terms of HIV prevention people and relationships in young women's lives are of great significance as they have an effect on the degree to which young women have sexual agency. Clearly inter-generational relationships are represented as vitally important, not just in terms of parents and daughters but also relating to teachers and adult men. Also relationships with peers, that is young men and other young women, are of concern in relation to HIV prevention and need to be explored and extended. These issues of relationships and people in young women's lives, and other issues presented here in detail are summarized in chapter eight, followed by the substantive discussion of the findings in relation to HIV prevention.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This study arose out of concerns for the vulnerability of young women of Busoga in relation to HIV/AIDS, and the absence of their voices in HIV prevention efforts. The main research question asked: <u>How can young women, who experience multiple vulnerabilities in their lives, have a voice, and what might the implications be for HIV prevention?</u> A substantive contribution of the study findings is to knowledge about the considerable social, gendered and institutional barriers to young women of Busoga's voices and agency. There may be scope for them to have agency and voice through better educational opportunities and societal transformation, especially in relation to gender inequalities and harmful sexual norms, although this is a difficult and substantial agenda given the constraints in context.

Young women's representations in the study are analyzed using a critical framework of current HIV prevention paradigms (see 8.3 below); this concludes that HIV prevention has done little to address, and has instead contributed to the limitations faced by vulnerable young women. The major contribution of the study to HIV prevention is that it adds to the call for alternative approaches, underpinned by empowerment paradigms, which build young women's voices within wider actions to create receptive social environments as a means of addressing limits to their agency.

In addressing the main question I asked three specific questions. The first was; <u>What can be learned about the lives and voices of young women of Busoga and how does this contribute to the literature on a) young women's intimate lives and HIV prevention in Uganda; and b) qualitative research, specifically narrative methodologies, for exploring young women's voices?</u>
 I explored current literature concerning the intimate lives of young women of Busoga in the context of the multiple vulnerabilities that contribute to HIV/AIDS risk and current HIV prevention in Uganda. This showed that a

historical legacy, combined with current societal and institutional norms (such as, the high burden of domestic work, lack of access to resources, early marriage, and norms of power and gender), have important consequences in limiting young women's sexual agency. In addition, the field study contributes to understandings of their intimate lives; young women portrayed the barriers to their voices as a result of constraining social structures and norms, and the challenging environment in terms of poverty and barriers to education. This was presented in detail in chapters five to seven, and it is summarized below in 8.2.

The broad contribution to qualitative research literature concerns the role of alternative, critical methods, such as narrative, for inquiry with young women within voiceless norms. These offer safe and alternative spaces for speaking as well as for de-stabilizing harmful social norms (Kesby 2005; Cahill 2006; Cahill 2007; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010). Such methods may also be valuable for alternative programmes aimed at building young women's voices and increasing their participation in HIV prevention.

The second research question asked; <u>Can narrative methods serve as tools for young women speaking about their lives and do they offer a means for them to talk about their experiences of oppression and resistance? What are the factors that hinder or facilitate use of narrative methods in relation to the study of young women's voices?</u> Method was a critical element of the study, given the focus on young women speaking. I developed a mixed narrative methodology, expanding on existing critical inquiry and experiences of collaborating with young people in developed and developing settings (Johnson, Ivan-Smith et al. 1998; Cahill 2007; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010). The study shows that narrative methods can serve as tools for young women speaking by offering spaces for them to represent their life experiences and alternative realities. The study develops the argument that appropriate qualitative research relating to the study of voices must be based not only on alternative methods for speaking, but also on critical epistemologies which provide a paradigmatic space for issues of resistance and oppression.

However, I suggest that positivist norms in HIV prevention hinder the use of narrative and other such methods by not providing a paradigmatic space let alone a methodological one. This means that it is difficult to develop expert understandings of such methods, and their value in the context of HIV prevention for young women. Yet, there are shifts in HIV prevention which may facilitate use of such methods; that is, the shift towards addressing the context of young women's lives, including issues of dominance, and scope for drawing on successful experiments in empowerment (Kafewo 2008; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010; Harrison, Newell et al. 2010). The contribution to methodological literature was discussed in detail in chapter four.

The third research question asked, <u>What do young women say about their lives? What can be learned about current HIV prevention from listening to what young women say? What are the ways forward for HIV prevention in light of what young women say?</u> In this concluding chapter, the summary of findings (8.2) discusses what young women say about their lives, drawing from the detailed analysis; section 8.3 discusses what can be learned about this in relation to current HIV prevention; and section 8.4 discusses ways forward in the light of what young women say.

8.2 Summary of Main Findings

Young women in the space of the research spoke of the importance of education and parental support in their lives. They also portrayed the considerable and complex challenges they face, including barriers to speaking and limits to their agency. What young women have to say about their lives, and the place of sex and HIV/AIDS in their representations, is summarized in this section.

Young women describe the central role of domestic work and the home in their lives. They indicate respect for these traditions and for their responsibilities and duties in relation to their important role in families. Yet, they also portray desires for a life outside the home, especially a desire for education. Young women depict the importance of attending school and remaining in school, with the status of 'schoolgirl' as desired by them; as well as referring to the importance of high levels of attainment. They also mention a desire for having opportunities to work outside the home. Participants were school attendees and this may have contributed to the strength of their expressed desire for education.

However, there is a notable lack of detail on school life, whereas domestic life is represented in some detail through the images. This may be because the research was conducted during the vacation, but the sheer dominance of images of domestic work is still noteworthy. The exceptions to this in the methods are the vivid depictions of boarding school life in the two diaries. Young women also describe the challenges they face in relation to education; including challenges of poverty and high costs of schooling; resistance to paying for female education; high domestic workload, which interferes with their education; and early marriage and pregnancy.

Young women's life expectations differ from traditional Basoga norms (Sorensen 1996; Swezey 2004). They refer to a professional life outside the home, drawing on female and male role models of work. They also mention smaller family size (where family is mentioned at all) and educational opportunities for their children are considered important. These expectations

reflect social change, such as changes to marriage practices, increasing levels of female education, and greater mobility and urbanization of the population (Ellis, Manuel et al. 2006; Parikh 2007). Yet, despite these changes, young women's expectations do not reflect the reality of opportunities available; given the context of poverty, the lack of opportunities for work and education (for men and even more so for women) and the perpetuation of unequal gendered roles (Kurz and Prather 1995; UNICEF 2006; Urdang 2007). Young women show awareness of the opening up of possibilities for female education and employment and the 'idea' of this is clearly a potent one.

The combination of historical, social and cultural norms of young womanhood, such as staying at home, early pregnancy and marriage, and submissive behaviour, whilst they are acknowledged and accorded some respect, are also portrayed as limiting young women's voices and life choices. Cultural practice concerning Basoga young womanhood was explored through the theme of kneeling. Kneeling serves as a potent symbol of respect for elders but also of female subordination and lack of voice as depicted in the study. As such it is also a focus of young woman's resistance, as they attempt to speak out on their own behalf.

Young women represent poverty as a considerable challenge in their lives. Poverty is depicted as leading to additional domestic workload; to domestic working instead of getting an education; and to a lack of resources for school fees and other necessities. Poor parents are portrayed as unable to afford to pay for their daughter's education or requiring them to marry for money. Young women are also shown to enter into marriage or sexual relations to escape from poverty. Fragility or change in circumstances in young women's lives is a feature of the findings. Young women relate it to poverty, with a sense that a change in circumstances, leading to a reduction in income for parents or daughters can quickly lead to loss of education, early pregnancy and marriage, and also infection with HIV/AIDS. Consequently poverty is presented as limiting life choices and opportunities and sometimes leading to catastrophe.

The context of sexuality is described as a particular challenge in young women's lives. Sexual violence is given prominence in the narrative data, with young women presented as vulnerable, although sometimes resistant in the face of sexual violence. Yet, there is ambiguity around issues of young women's agency in their sexual lives. Sometimes young women are represented as victims, both silent and resistant. But, young women are also portrayed as 'behaving badly'; such as, moving around and meeting friends outside the home. Such behaviour is described as leading to disastrous consequences, such as rape and infection with HIV/AIDS. Themes that emerged from the sexual content include an emphasis on abstinence; a lack of any sense of the positive in relation to sexuality; lack of connection with men; and fears of infection with HIV/AIDS and related fears such as rape and other forms of sexual violence.

Young women also portray the people and relationships in their lives. Basoga parents (also guardians and step-parents) are depicted as making strategic life decisions on their daughters' behalf, such as arranging a marriage, paying or not paying school fees. There are examples of parental approval for daughters' achievements at school, and support for them remaining at school. But, there are also references to traditional and gendered attitudes towards daughters as a resource for the family. However, parents are also shown to be at risk of a downturn in their circumstances. Sometimes they are helpless in the face of poverty, loss of job, sickness and death, or sexual violence against their daughters. Parental agency and positive support for their daughters' education is presented as having great significance for young women's lives.

Young men and adult men (other than fathers) feature in the narratives as crucial to what happens to young women, often as perpetrators of sexual violence, or as husbands, but there is little detail about them. Apart from fathers, men are portrayed in a generally negative way; for example, there are caricatures of husbands 'behaving badly' in the dramas. It may be that these depictions are a sign of a disconnection between young women and men; given that they lead very different lives with different social norms and

expectations for men of Busoga (Swezey 2004). Other studies have shown that young women and young men in many cultural contexts increasingly lead different lives as they grow to adulthood, and this might explain the absence of men (Kurz and Prather 1995). Yet, inter-gender relationships, communication, and connectedness are vitally important in sexual lives and in HIV prevention (Esplen 2006). The role of adult men and young women having a say with adult men, given the issue of relations with older partners, who as adults can command deference from young women, presents an additional challenge in relation to young women's say in sexuality.

Young men are depicted with even less detail than adult men and this also raises issues of the relationship between age-similar genders and the potential for developing safer sex and positive sexuality collaboratively. It may be that young women in the study did not refer to men, or to their own sexual feelings, given that the research was conducted with an adult research team and one that is connected with STF, which is associated strongly with HIV prevention messages.

The relationships young women have with other young women are also represented as important in young women's lives. Friendships were referred to as providing different kinds of support, in and out of school, with friends' financial and emotional support considered as crucial. Young women were advising other young women in the narratives and empathizing with their difficulties, although there was little they could do for them in the face of major catastrophe. But, they were also critical of badly behaved young women mirroring societal norms of stereotyping and disapproval.

As well as young women talking about their lives, they indicate ways that they might have more say in their sexual lives. They describe what it is that silences them, such as traditional practice, being young, powerful and violent adults, and not getting an education. They also indicate ways that they might be able to speak such as speaking assertively, power reversals or resistance, although they are limited in being able to use these strategies to much effect in their lives without wider societal change. Building young women's voices

and societal and institutional transformation are discussed in 8.4. Next is an analysis of the findings utilizing the critical framework presented in chapter four.

8.3 Analysis of Findings

The analysis of findings explores current HIV prevention paradigms in light of the life circumstances, especially the limitations to agency, represented by young women in the study. This looks forward to the final section which considers ways forward: whilst existing ABC/BCC and life skills programmes may have a role to play in HIV prevention for young women, in the absence of wider efforts to create health-enabling social environments they will have little effect.

Foremost amongst criticisms of current HIV prevention discussed in the framework were those associated with an over-emphasis on ABC/BCC. Despite a shift towards acknowledging and addressing social context, HIV prevention is still underpinned by inappropriate assumptions and agendas, including those associated with modifying the sexual behaviours of young people (Fishbein 2000; Reddy 2005; Shoveller and Johnson 2006; Samara 2010; Walakira 2010). Yet, young women in the study describe situations of lack of agency in their lives and the key role played by significant others, such as parents and men, in appreciably limiting their ability to act individually in relation to determining their sexual behaviours. For instance, they describe 'forced early marriage', often to an older husband, and adverse family circumstances placing young women in a vulnerable position in relation to sexual protection. They refer to examples of young female subordination to male/adult dominance, such as kneeling to elders; or, being subject to male dominance, for example, in marriage and in situations of sexual coercion. They refer to situations where young and older men control resources and this makes them vulnerable in sexual health terms. For example, male students are described as 'cornering' female students with offers of money for sex. Whereas, young women are shown as not having access to even small amounts of money for basic and personal items. Finally, the most extreme circumstances of lack of agency are depicted in the many narratives of sexual violence.

The implication of what young women of Busoga say is that their situation militates against and considerably complicates the concept of individual protective behaviours, confirming it as inadequate for HIV prevention in relation to their needs. As such the findings highlight and confirm the need to go further in developing alternatives for HIV prevention.

Young people in Uganda, including in Busoga, have high levels of knowledge about HIV/AIDS and show a good awareness of how to protect themselves (Neema, Ahmed et al. 2006; UBOS and ORC Macro 2006). Yet, the findings indicate that, as young women lack agency in their lives, information by itself is not sufficient to address their vulnerabilities. Young women express their knowledge of HIV/AIDS in various ways in the study; particularly in the form of narratives of fear. The stories of sexual violence, including forced early marriage and rape, make a strong linkage between sexual experiences and infection with HIV/AIDS and subsequent death. Thus they indicate that even if a young woman has a good awareness of how to protect herself, and recognises the immense dangers of having unprotected sex, she may not be in a position to do so. They describe young women who are silent in the face of violence, and therefore have no chance to negotiate; or who try to resist but fail. Other young women are described as foolishly taking sexual risks, such as, 'moving around at night outside the home'. This risky behaviour is described as leading to a young woman's downfall, which often involves getting infected with HIV/AIDS.

Thus young women also represent their knowledge of the disease in relation to social stereotyping concerning young womanhood and sexuality, as well as in relation to their personal fears. Such social norms are problematic in that they promote young women's silence and shame on these issues, yet they may not be in a position to control what happens to them (WHO 2002; Blyth 2009). The findings also indicate a lack of action on the part of society, such as a lack of action on rape, contributing to such consequences (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002). Therefore societal norms and the actions of significant others, such as adult men in young women's lives, as well as existing social norms of fear and stereotyping, are represented as key to the vulnerabilities to be

addressed; societal issues which are inadequately addressed by current HIV prevention paradigms (Shoveller and Johnson 2006; Dworkin and Erhardt 2007).

Medical paradigms, traditions of health promotion and sexual health, which underpin HIV prevention were critiqued for promoting narrow and atheoretical approaches, leaving little place for challenging social and power norms (Inhorn and Whittle 2001; Labonte 2005). Also, there was criticism that a disease-oriented and medicalised sexual health leaves little room for paradigms that promote positive sexuality, young women's agency and self determination (WHO 2004; Harcourt 2009). Young women's narratives demonstrate a complex intereaction between circumstances of poverty and cultural and gender norms, special family circumstances (death of a parent for instance, or poor relationship with a step parent), domestic work and education; with consequences for their intimate lives. These complex circumstances run counter to narrow and reductionist models of sexual health. Also narratives were replete with evidence of fear and social norms, such as stereotyping, relating to HIV/AIDS and sexuality. Further, the hidden and difficult to discuss, such as embedded power norms between young women and adult men, were evident in the findings; issues which are notably absent from normative disciplinary discourses and practices. Hence the findings demonstrate the dangers of normative models of sexual health which neglect such issues, providing further support for alternatives in HIV prevention.

HIV prevention delivered to young people in Uganda emphasizes abstaining from sex (Neema, Musisi et al. 2004; Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). In the study, young women's narratives adhere to an abstinence model in the main, describing well behaved young women abstaining from sex, getting an education, and deferring marriage; with young women as narrators strongly exhorting young women to abstain from sex. Condoms are mentioned very little with a couple of references to being careful and use of a condom. Yet, issues of lack of agency are also significant here with young women shown as often lacking the means to abstain or negotiate use of condoms. Also,

whilst there is no direct reference, there are indications of social barriers to accessing condoms; for instance, it is 'bad girls' who are having sex and therefore they who are likely to need to use condoms. Such negative stereotypes may go some way to explain why young women in the study represent an abstinence model. Moreover, there is the frequently mentioned issue of sexual violence precluding protection.

A further issue relating to sexual protection in relationships is that there are signs in the study of the societal norms of young women 'admiring' men for the money that they have (Swezey 2004; Samara 2010); with young women only being able to access funds through sexual relations including marriage. Once married, young women indicate that they have no surety that husbands will adopt protective behaviours. In fact, they portray negativity towards men in the narratives (with the exception of some of the father figures). Men are represented as violent, dominant, disconnected from women, physically powerful and a sexual threat. By implication men are portrayed as poor at protecting young women in relation to sex, yet they are in control of condom use.

The findings argue for going beyond abstinence, given the lack of individual determination and complexities in sexual relations in young women's live. Also, as signified by the lack of mention of condoms and the criticisms of young women having sex, the findings indicate that there are social barriers to condom use in terms of societal and institutional disapproval. Further, the narratives of men and relationships with men underscore the serious limitations young women face in relation to control of sexual relations. All of this confirms the inadequacy of current specific strategies (Reddy 2005; Dworkin and Erhardt 2007), and the need to address wider societal change.

Standardized and expert driven HIV prevention is critiqued as conflicting with the realities of the diverse contexts and situations faced by young people (Halperin and Steiner 2004; Mabala 2006; WHO 2006; Karim, Meyer-Weitz et al. 2009). The distinctive nature of Basoga historical legacy in relation to social and gender norms was demonstrated here using the literature; with

important consequences for young women's intimate lives. What young women say in the study provides further evidence of the relevance of a particular context within a country. These contextual norms are shown as shaping young women's agency in relation to sexuality. For example, Basoga traditions of kneeling to elders and early marriage which, whilst they are changing, still prevail and limit young women's agency. Traditions of young women's work at home were portrayed as particularly significant, resulting in negative consequences for educational opportunities. Yet these key cultural and contextual issues, which impact on intimate lives, have a limited place in HIV prevention models.

Also, the findings demonstrated that there were significant differences in the representations of the young women, even in one small community, reflecting the multiplicity of experiences and providing a further rationale for alternative and multiple approaches in HIV prevention. Narratives described young women who are more or less vulnerable as a result of age, family circumstances, parents' attitudes or absence of parents, and familial economic status. Also differing educational experiences portrayed in the narratives were shown to be important with some young women in school and others out of school and married. Distinctions were made between those attending day or boarding schools and those at different levels of education; with a consequent effect on their educational experience and outcomes. Also there were shown to be differences in personal styles with multiple self expressions and identities reflected in the narratives.

Young women's narratives also illustrated gender differences; with Basoga males constructed as cocky and forthright and young females constructed as quiet and submissive. Yet some narratives go beyond these gender norms to demonstrate alternatives, such as, assertive, forthright young women who are talkative or cheeky. This indicates that young women are resistant to gender norms. Yet, young women also signify that these characteristics are disapproved of by society. Thus the findings demonstrate the need for flexible and multiple opportunities for young women's voices to emerge, not currently available within current HIV prevention paradigms and programmes. These

need to go beyond existing constructions of young femininity, which are barriers to their voices.

Powerful agency is a subject of much critique for being overly influential in HIV prevention, especially in relation to promoting abstinence to the exclusion of other approaches (Cohen 2003; Cohen 2008). Young women in the study mainly represent an abstinence model and a negative sexuality discourse in the narratives, mirroring these normative and powerful agendas. But they also indicate that they lack agency in abstaining from sex or in negotiating use of condoms; and this acts as a challenge to such orthodoxy. Such agendas should therefore be considered as part of the problem faced by young women in that they reinforce negativity in relation to young women's sexuality, upholding societal disapproval in relation to use of condoms and sexual relations. Yet, there is limited action by such powerful forces in relation to addressing issues of dominance and harmful societal norms as represented in the findings; or pursuance of an agenda likely to support young women's self determination and agency.

An important effect of such powerful agency and standard programmes is that young women's voices, knowledge and participation are not sufficiently evident in HIV prevention (Urdang 2007). Young women represent silence and silencing in the narratives; for example, in relation to rape and other acts of violence, in traditions of kneeling, and in presenting silent and silenced characters. There are examples of young women speaking out, but they are not listened to, or are criticized for doing so. One notable exception of successful speaking out involves a young woman sitting beside the father of a friend and speaking to him as to an equal. This tellingly challenges a normative construction of young femininity and power relations, replacing it with the embodied power of sitting side-by-side, all relevant to young women's opportunities for speaking. However, other examples of speaking out are represented as bad behaviour; for example in the narratives of young women refusing to kneel. The findings indicate that a Basoga cultural norm of good young womanhood is that of submission and silence, with many potent images, drawings, and imagery in words showing this. The realities presented

are of the many barriers to young women speaking, indicating the societal barriers they face in relation to participating in HIV prevention programmes. Thus current social norms, combined with norms of programmes, are in large part accountable for the lack of voice and participation of young women. Whereas norms of young men as vocal and confident (Swezey 2004; Joshi 2010) are further illustrated in the findings, and this ensures young men's prominence in participation, especially where there are no measures in place to address inequalities in gendered participation (Lundy 2007).

The dominance of powerful agendas and lack of alternative discourses in current HIV prevention mean that, despite recent shifts, key issues in the social environment have largely been neglected. Yet, the findings show that it is the complex and contextual environment which is key to young women's vulnerabilities, and therefore must be central in addressing their vulnerabilities. The family, parents and the home environment are shown to have a central importance in young women's lives. Young women were mainly represented as working at home; and the findings show how this affects opportunities for education. The role of parents was demonstrated as crucial; that is whether they support their daughters in attending school, or decide to arrange marriage; or, indeed, face limitations to their agency with a negative impact on their daughter's lives.

Schools in Uganda continue to be an important focus of HIV prevention with inclusion of HIV in curricula and the development of life skills' programmes (Buczkiewicz and Carnegie 2001; Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). But, as explored earlier, there is a lack of attention in HIV prevention to the school environment, as well as to young women's access to education. In the findings young women endorse the place of education as having great importance to them, and to their families and futures. Yet, they indicate the considerable difficulties in the school environment itself. Norms of young women's silence in mixed gender groups, which are the spaces of life skills or peer education delivery, means that such programmes are likely to have limited effects. The findings highlight the need for HIV prevention to address

the complex and gendered nature of the barriers to young women's voices in the diferent settings.

The community environment in Uganda has received increasing attention through community mobilization initiatives (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004; Karim, Williams et al. 2009; Walakira 2010). The findings indicate that the role of communities, such as societal disapproval or lack of action in protecting young women, are vital aspects of their vulnerability and voicelessness. Thus the findings contribute to the argument that the combined social environment of home, school and community must play a greater and more fundamental part in HIV prevention than at present. Yet, community mobilization is notoriously difficult, and current models are unlikely to meet the complex agenda of empowerment needed to address young women's needs without wider and alternative efforts to create receptive social environment (Campbell and Cornish 2010).

The findings indicate that gender inequality and the particular vulnerabilities created by the intersection of being young and female within the societal context have a negative impact on young Basoga women's agency; and there are indications that this is not addressed by current norms of 'non-critical' HIV prevention. Indeed it is suggested that powerful agency in HIV prevention, such as those of faith based groups and normative models of sexual health, contribute to the problem. The implications of the findings for a way forward in HIV prevention is a need for new strategies, including programmes to build young women's voices, as a means to increasing their agency and participation. However, such progammes alone will not lead to empowerment; the priority rather is to foster receptive and health-enabling social environments, not an easy task as it runs counter to current norms. This provides the basis for the discussion of a way forward in the final section.

8.4 A Way Forward for HIV Prevention

8.4.1 Building young women's voices

Alternative paradigms for HIV prevention

The academic argument here, supported by the findings, is that current HIV prevention does little to address the needs of vulnerable young women; and indeed contributes to their limitations. As a result there is a requirement for alternatives to be put in place which go beyond the 'non-critical' to those which are better suited to addressing oppression and negative social norms by contributing to significant societal change or 'transformation' (Campbell and Cornish 2010; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010). Alternative and critical paradigms are needed to underpin alternative strategies; such as listening to young women, spaces for their resistance and activism, and transformative change to the social context (Neema 2002; Kesby 2005; Campbell and Cornish 2010). Such alternative paradigms are grounded in theories of empowerment, including gender empowerment (Rowlands 1998; Kesby 2005; Kalipeni, Oppong et al. 2007). Empowerment of vulnerable young women in the Basoga context requires building their voices and agency so that they can have greater say and control in their lives. However, working with young women by itself is not enough; priority must be given to creating social environments which are receptive to an empowerment agenda if vulnerability is to be addressed (Campbell and Cornish 2010). Such alternative paradigms come closer to positive sexuality models of prevention rather than disease focused ones (WHO 2004; Diamond 2006; Dworkin and Erhardt 2007; IPPF 2007); better suited to the complex and multi-dimensional nature of young women's sexuality as well as disease prevention (WHO 2004; Diamond 2006).

New paradigms pose an overt challenge to donor dominance, government and non-government agencies, and other powerful internal and external

forces (Murphy, Greene et al. 2006; Cohen 2008). Currently these preclude discussion of dominance, let alone addressing it through empowerment (Sussman 2006). Yet, the role of such agencies and actors is crucial in supporting alternatives given their powerful position in terms of funding and delivery of programmes (Stammers 2005; Cohen 2008). This poses a challenge of fundamental change to their current norms, including their own dominance (Kelly and Birdsall 2010).

What might this mean for building young women's voices? Diverse and alternative tools and spaces are required, with a view to de-stabilizing and transforming norms and allowing young women's multiple voices and identities to emerge (Kesby 2005; Cahill 2007; Mannion 2010). Programmes need to focus less on provision of ABC in the curricula and more on addressing issues of gender and power, including those faced by young women in schools. Life skills may offer opportunities for a more voice-based agenda in HIV prevention. Yet currently these are delivered within non-critical paradigms and non-receptive school environments, which do not take into consideration barriers to young women's voices (Mirembe and Davies 2001; Kakuru 2006). There is a need for further development of this concept as an empowerment tool (Buczkiewicz and Carnegie 2001; Boler and Aggleton 2005).

Alternative tools and spaces for building young women's voices

Based on alternative more critical paradigms, innovative ways of building young women's voices must be developed. Alternative tools require the use of different means of communication and collaboration, offering greater flexibility and safety in terms of spaces for participation, more focused on young women's realities (ICW 2004; IPPF 2007). These should offer scope for de-stabilizing norms, and young women's own critical thinking and transformative development (Cahill 2006; Harrison, Newell et al. 2010). Critical thinking allows young women to reflect on their situation gaining confidence in challenging negative norms in the society (Freire 1972; Cahill

2007).These might be applied in schools or other programmes with a focus on opening up the possibilities for talking about sexuality and application in sexual situations and other aspects of agency. This study demonstrated that alternatives can provide opportunities for young women to share their knowledge and viewpoints, and this indicates a potential for young women to participate in their own transformation, taking part in processes of positive change (Kabeer 1999; Cornwall 2003).

Narrative arts offered opportunities for young women of Busoga to represent their lives in the study using characterization and plot, people and relationships. Narrative drama is particularly suited to schools and programmes given that it is a group method. But other methods, such as story writing, which start as individual exercises, might also lend themselves to reflection and shared exploration. In the MADAboutART project in South Africa young people's written stories formed the basis of collaboration. Narrative uses a range of devices, such as humour or pathos, portrayals of interactions between characters, and these allow participants to engage with these fictional accounts, which can be valuable for collaboration and transformation.

Contemporary participation theory refers to the need to de-stabilize dominant norms in an empowerment agenda, challenging the barriers to agency, and the idea of 'destabilizing' emerges strongly from the research (Kesby 2005; Cahill 2010). Young women used de-stabilization techniques within their narratives; one such technique was that of 'resistance', such as the portrayal of resistance to kneeling or early marriage. Also, and similarly having the potential to de-stabilize, 'power reversals' were used in the study narratives, such as young women adopting the roles of powerful adults, or young women directing others' behaviours. These techniques serve to de-stabilize partly through direct critique of norms, but also through a combination of oppositional language, body and voice, expressed emotions and other techniques such as humour and caricature. These are a potent mix of attributes which can provide a basis for 'rehearsing change' (Cahill 2010).

Also, and having similarly de-stabilizing effects, is the technique of 'equalizing' which young women use in the study. This included, speaking as an equal, embodied equalizers like sitting beside an adult, and young women being assertive, or 'adult', in body, voice and language. It may be that the equalizing technique is an attempt to be listened to by adults. This challenges the status quo and invites those involved in participation, of different ages, to consider alternative norms and behaviours.

Young women in the study, as well as posing challenges, also reinforced social norms through for instance, representing stereotypes of 'badly behaved' young women. One project in Vietnam (Cahill 2010) aiming to de-stabilize through participatory drama, found that participants represented the status quo instead of opening up the possibilities for change. A 'hidden thought' technique was introduced in this case asking participants to explore the different interpretations of the characters' actions; as a means of challenging the status quo (Cahill 2010). Young Basoga women introduced their own de-stabilizing techniques, as well as mirroring social norms, and this further illustrates the potential for such strategies, although there is the issue of providing safe spaces within which these can be developed.

There were other features in the narratives which lend themselves to building young women's voices. For example, young women represented ambiguous and complex portrayals of characters, with traits which elicited sympathy but which were also criticized. This and other devices in narrative offer opportunities for the participants to consider the layers of meaning and explore different realities. The complexities in the narrative offer further scope for collaborative debate about the sexual motives and actions of the characters, offering an opportunity for 'talk' and critical reflection. Furthermore, narratives were shown to be important in inviting participants to enter the characters' situations and explore their dilemmas and choices and this can be valuable as a means of critical thinking (Etherton and Prentki 2006).

There are indications from the study that methods for working with young women in HIV prevention must be suited to their needs and voices within an empowerment process. Lundy (2007) notes that to hear different voices it is important to provide suitable means for speaking, with opportunities not only for the most vocal but also for the less vocal to participate and by creating such opportunities building the voices of the less vocal. Young women were shown to have different styles, identities, and preferences in communicating and this should be reflected in HIV prevention; offering choices other than open dialogue and public speaking.

Alternative perceptions of young women

A feature of the study was that initial perceptions of young women of Busoga were of them as 'fixed' in terms of vulnerability and voicelessness. Yet, in the study young women spoke of their experiences and further they offered signs of a desire for new and more assertive roles. Young women represented themselves as leaders, advocates, and champions in the narratives; as well as witnesses to young women's experiences. Whilst this might not reflect the reality in their lives, it does indicate that the ideas of these alternatives exist for young women and are attractive to them. It is vital that key adults and institutions perceive young women as having potential to be active agents as a pre-requisite to facilitating programmes aimed at building their voices, and to take on new roles and constructions as part of an empowerment agenda (Cahill 2006; Kafewo 2008; Higgins, Hoffman et al. 2010).

Young women advising other young women through peer education in sexual health promotion has been widely explored and tested (Campbell and Aggleton 1999; Ingham and Aggleton 2006; Cook 2010); although apparently less relevant in the context of Busoga given voiceless norms for young women. There are indications from the study of the potential for alternative roles, such as peer support within transformative programmes which go further than traditional peer education (Campbell and Cornish 2010). These methods are similar to those applied in leadership training, women's activism, and in participatory programmes which involve working with young women

(Sperandio 2000; UNFPA and World YWCA 2006). They serve as a means for young women to step out of existing constructed roles, experimenting and exploring other voices and identities. Change to gender relations requires this nurturing of young women as leaders and activists, and is potentially a key part of gender empowerment and wider societal change (Tripp and Kwesiga 2002).

Although young men were not the focus of the study they are of vital importance in an empowerment paradigm involving young women (Higgins, Hoffman et al. 2010; Joshi 2010). Some of the issues raised here in relation to young women's lives resonate with those concerning young men. Young men have their own ways of communicating, and there will be mechanisms and spaces which are suited to their voices. They have their own perspectives on sexuality and sexual lives, their realities and multiple voices, and they have needs in terms of skills development, including developing their critical thinking, although requiring suitably differentiated approaches (Esplen 2006; Joshi 2010).

There are however, issues of power in terms of young Basoga men and young women working together, with young men who are more vocal and confident likely to take the lead in collaboration. Also, there are likely to be difficult issues of lack of respect and gendered disconnections between young men and women which are obstacles to effective participation (Pattman 2005; Esplen 2006; Bhana and Pattman 2009). Although there is an absence in the narratives of interactions between young women and men, those that are there imply the need to develop alternatives for inter-gender working; such as, different mechanisms for communication and different spaces, such as single and mixed gender groups. Flexible approaches should offer opportunities to confront issues of power and gender through the engaging, but also crucially the critical, which can de-stabilize as well as entertain. However, this requires skilled facilitation from institutions and key adult workers and must be supported by empowerment paradigms in working with young people (Harrison, Newell et al. 2010; Mannion 2010; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010).

Adult roles and institutional capacities in building voices

Typically, reference is made to a need to develop young people's skills for HIV prevention, 'the contribution of young people is often limited, due to their [my emphasis] lack of empowerment and skills' (IPPF 2006). Yet, as Mannion (2010) notes, there is a need to move away from such an over-emphasis on young people acquiring skills. Whilst these are of vital importance, it is the skills and values of key adults such as teachers and HIV prevention workers within transformative institutions that will set and manage an agenda which includes building young women's voices and promoting their participation in HIV prevention.

This provides a challenge for those working with young people in HIV prevention. Safe and appropriate physical places and spaces for young women's voices in HIV prevention need to be prioritized. Typically activities inhabit school spaces. However, in the context of Uganda, there are a number of problems with this. There is the lack of sexuality education at primary level. This is an issue given that young women repeat school years and spend limited time at secondary level. Also, at secondary level there are issues associated with under resourcing, large class sizes, a lack of female teachers, didactic teaching styles; all of which result in spaces which are not conducive to building voices (Mirembe and Davies 2001; Kakuru 2006). Furthermore, there is the issue of accessing young women who are out of school. Whilst schools will continue to be of primary importance, there needs to be flexibility for community spaces, churches, and other places for young women to participate. Such key adult roles and skills needs to be addressed alongside significant programmes associated with creating receptive social environments. This is discussed in the final section.

8.4.2 Building a receptive social environment

The study highlights the need to build a receptive social environment to address young Basoga women's voicelessness and vulnerabilities. Uganda has a longstanding record of social networking in the community in relation to HIV prevention messages upon which to build (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004). Trends in Uganda as elsewhere have moved towards HIV prevention, which include community initiatives to address societal constraints (Uganda AIDS Commission 2007; Karim, Williams et al. 2009; Walakira 2010). These were discussed earlier as moving in the right direction, but still as over reliant on traditional structures and approaches, and with the danger of continuing top down approaches by donors (Kelly and Birdsall 2010). Also, it was noted that such programmes face considerable challenges given that they are tackling complex societal problems which require complex processes; and many initiatives are local and small scale and have limited resources and power for tackling significant constraints (Campbell and Cornish 2010; Harrison, Newell et al. 2010). The findings of the study give further support to the argument that current community interventions are too limited given the complexities and deep seated nature of gender and power norms faced by young women of Busoga.

New paradigms, on the other hand, may offer different means for HIV prevention (Campbell and Cornish 2010; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010). Such paradigms place less emphasis on health structures, traditional approaches and disease oriented goals; and more on transforming societies, grassroots activism, political will and leadership in support of empowerment goals. The argument for a new dimension in HIV prevention, going further than current social mobilization; is that whilst this is valuable because it involves local communities and organizations, creating and harnessing their agency in relation to their self determined agenda of change (Wallerstein 1992), such initiatives are only likely to work if the wider society, with the aid of powerful actors, is receptive to change (Campbell and Cornish 2010; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010). There is the added challenge here for

community mobilization that norms within communities of Busoga perpetuate the limitations faced by young women to their agency and voices.

A useful way of understanding the concept of building a receptive social environment in relation to young women of Busoga involves consideration of the Ugandan 'symbolic, material and relational contexts' (Campbell and Cornish 2010). This moves the HIV prevention agenda on to address the complexities, embedded power and other norms in society; shown in this study as fundamental to an agenda aimed at empowering young women. The 'symbolic' context is defined as that which is concerned with meanings or ideologies in society (Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010). The study findings indicate that the symbolic context is of vital importance to young women's agency; examples are the symbolism of kneeling to elders, and the language and ideas reflecting societal stereotyping of young women. There is a key relationship between symbols in society and power relations and norms, and this makes them of particular importance in an agenda which is about challenging dominance and facilitating empowerment (Kesby 2005). Yet the symbolic context is typically neglected, difficult to define and talk about, let alone address. An approach to creating an appropriate symbolic context would require working pro-actively with powerful actors, such as the media and faith based groups, to challenge negative meanings in the society associated with young womanhood; replacing these with symbols of respect and those which frame young women as self-determining and having a voice. The symbolic context of schools are of great relevance here with issues of how young women students are perceived and the importance of school ideologies in creating positive symbols (Kakuru 2006; Mannion 2010).

There is also the need to address the 'material' context in support of local organizations and community efforts; especially resources for new strategies associated with the symbolic and relational contexts. The findings of the study showed that the material context of young women's lives is of central importance, with issues of poverty and lack of material requirements for education. There is need for material support for improved access to education for yong women, and for the development of more receptive

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environments in Ugandan schools; including alternative teaching norms, greater representation of women in schools, and positive school ideologies (Mirembe and Davies 2001{Mannion, 2010 #356)}. The role of donors in the material context remains key with a need for them to support alternative strategies, including bottom up and empowerment approaches, even though this means going outside their existing norms.

The 'relational' context, defined as that of leadership and decision making, is also of vital importance in creating a receptive social environment (Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010). Local communities and organizations have limited power to make significant change by themselves. Developing the relational context involves creation of strategic alliances and working with powerful allies for social change, at local and other levels (Spivak 1988; Campbell and Cornish 2010). It requires an acknowledgement of processes of power in the society and openly working with these for the benefit of young women. However, there are crucial concerns for community actors and norms perpetuating the barriers to young women's voices as is the case here in Busoga. So an important element of the agenda would be recognising this, and promoting those powerful actors and allies willing to support young women's voices within communities. Powerful actors, as well as influencing communities, are required to heed young women's voices and in taking action support them speaking for themselves; fostering their potential to take on leadership roles (Lundy 2007).

Vaughan (2010), in a study involving young people in PNG, found that building young people's voices was not enough to bring about significant health-related change. She describes the need to develop 'in-between' spaces and 'chains' of such social spaces; that is, recognising the role of spaces where decisions are made which affect young people and harnessing these in support of agendas suited to them, as well as giving space to youth voices within social chains.

Support for the relational context poses a challenge for donors in HIV prevention as it requires moving beyond traditional programmes and norms to

those which are more overtly about mobilising power, at local level and at other levels, in support of organizations working for fundamental social change to benefit young women. This requires greater self-awareness or reflexivity on the part of donors and other powerful actors, local and external, concerning their own dominance (Kelly and Birdsall 2010).

The implications of this new agenda for HIV prevention programmes is the need to go beyond current norms to support young women's growing self awareness and confidence as well as change to adult, institutional and community roles and attitudes. Whilst abstinence and condom use are still important messages, these need to be delivered within more complex, contextual and wide ranging programmes, which go further than narrow disease related goals to support cross sectoral working, creation of strategic alliances in the interests of young women, building an appropriate poliitcal base, managing the media, and other aspects of effective activism and empowerment (Spivak 1988; Neema 2002; Tripp and Kwesiga 2002; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010).

Creating a receptive social environment is an added challenge in the context of Busoga given the voiceless norms faced by young women. The implications for families, communities and adult men is the need to change their perspectives about young womanhood and sexuality. Talking about sexuality has been a strategy in Uganda, but with an emphasis on ABC messages (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004). New ways of working with community organizations and programmes in Busoga are required, as well as with powerful alliances and actors in the wider Ugandan society who are committed to actively promoting young Ugandan women's voices and agency. Significant adults in local communities, such as teachers, heads of schools and churches, women in prominent positions, have a key role to play in supporting this agenda (Sperandio 2000; Neema 2002). These ideas resonate with paradigms and experiences underpinning 'social movements', such as the active Ugandan women's movement, and these can inform new HIV prevention (Neema 2002; Tripp and Kwesiga 2002; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010).

8.5 Concluding Remarks and Further Research

Social movements, social mobilization and other empowerment approaches to societal change provide a way forward for HIV prevention which is more likely to benefit young Ugandan women. Uganda has made significant gains in HIV prevention for young people through the means of schools, radio, and government messages (Low-Beer and Stoneburner 2004; IPPF 2006). There continues to be strong political and institutional will to address HIV/AIDS through prevention; with crucial support from NGOs, faith-based organizations, and community groups. Current thinking in Uganda reflects a realization of the need for wider, more social and gendered approaches to HIV prevention for young people (IPPF 2006; Uganda AIDS Commission 2007). Yet, there is clearly a missing agenda in relation to vulnerable young women, with entrenched societal limitations to address, and yet inadequate paradigms in HIV prevention for addressing such an agenda.

STF Uganda gave impetus to the study as a partner in the research. They and other NGOs and agencies involved in HIV prevention now need to go further in light of the limitations to young women's voices and agency, adopting new strategies based on alternative methods and paradigms. NGOs have a crucial role to play as powerful allies in fostering receptive social environments within a more political and critical HIV prevention, which addresses fundamental change in societal norms and gender relations. This role is even more crucial in relation to young women given voiceless norms, increasing their reliance on powerful allies to foster and create an empowerment agenda.

The study aimed to further critical method using narrative as a means for young women to speak and this proved to be a rich source for their knowledge, viewpoints and voices. Further research might involve additional application of critical ideas to qualitative research and practice contributing to new HIV prevention paradigms. Also, new research should promote different roles for young women in HIV prevention, including those of active agency and leadership, contributing to an empowerment agenda within wider actions

to foster receptive social environments (Neema 2002; Cahill 2006; Cahill 2007; Campbell, Cornish et al. 2010). These are challenging yet necessary goals if the limits to young women's agency are to be addressed.

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Appendix: Informed Consent

CONSENT FORM

GIRLS' LIVES IN BUSOGA
Researchers: Louise Waite and Cath Conn, University of Leeds and
Evelyn Namubiru, Straight Talk Foundation
COMDIS Funded Research Project

This project is about the challenges girls face in their day to day lives, including health matters. The girls' contribution will be used as part of this project and will be written up in the form of research papers. Research papers describe what happened during the research. We hope to use a combination of video, photos and drawings for this study. We may want to use some of these video clips, photos and drawings the girls are involved in making. If we do this, we will not use the girls' names. We will discuss with the girls whether or not they want the video clips/photos changed to keep their identities a secret. The girls are free to stop taking part in the study at any time.

Please cross out as necessary

Have you had an opportunity to know about this project?   YES/NO

Do you agree that……………………..can take part in the research?
                                                                                                        YES/NO

Do you understand that ………………………………………..is free to stop taking part in the
study at any time?
                                                                                                        YES/NO

I, as the legal guardian of…………………………………give my permission for her involvement in this research project and for the video clips, photos and drawings to be used for research purposes, and I give copyright permission to use what she has said in the research report and publications.

Print name in capitals…………………………………………………………..

Signed………………………….. Date……………………

CONSENT FORM

GIRLS' LIVES IN BUSOGA
Researchers: Louise Waite and Cath Conn, University of Leeds and
Evelyn Namubiru, Straight Talk Foundation
COMDIS Funded Research Project

This project is about the challenges girls face in their day to day lives, including health matters. Your contribution will be used as part of this project and will be written up in the form of research papers. Research papers describe what happened during the research. We hope to use a combination of video, photos and drawings for this study. We may want to use some of these video clips, photos and drawings you are involved in making. If we do this, we will not use your name. We will discuss with you whether or not you want the video clips/photos changed to keep your identity a secret. You are free to stop taking part in the study at any time.

Please cross out as necessary

Have you had an opportunity to know about this project?   YES/NO

Do you agree to take part in the research?   YES/NO

Do you understand that you are free to stop taking part in the
study at any time?   YES/NO

I give permission for the involvement in the video clips, photos and drawings to be used for research purposes and I give copyright permission to use what I said in the research report and publications.

Print name in capitals………………………………………………………..

Signed…………………………….. Date……………………